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VOLUME LXV, NUMBER 19769

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## Sir Isaiah Berlin dies at 88

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## Nicolas Cage 'Faces Off'

Time Out

## Amir Peretz: Class warrior

The Magazine

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## Netanyahu insists: No vote on primaries

By SARAH HONIG

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu calmed anxious Likud ministers yesterday by reiterating his promise that no resolutions concerning the primaries would be voted on at next week's party convention.

The convention is due to open on Sunday, and the Likud is gripped in a frenzy of anticipation and suspicion, with many fearing that, despite all the attempts to stage a calm convention devoted to ideological debates, things will get out of control, as has frequently happened in the past.

Netanyahu stressed that he is unable to keep individual delegates from talking about whatever they please, but promised that there would be no deliberations on formal resolutions and no voting on any proposals to scrap the primaries to determine the Likud's next Knesset list.

Theoretically, however, he could be overruled by a majority of the delegates, Deputy Defense Minister Silvan Shalom said.

Tension in the Likud nevertheless continued to mount. Anti-primary central committee members convened last night in Ra'anana and vowed to seek to overturn any moves by Netanyahu and the ministers to prevent a decision on primaries at this convention.

See PRIMARIES, Page 17

## 'El Niño to have no effect here'

By HAIM SHAPIRO

El Niño? Nada. That is, at least, as far as any relation between the dreaded southern Pacific weather phenomenon and expected rainfall here.

"El Niño is a real phenomenon, but not in our region," Zvi Alpers, director of the Meteorological Service, said yesterday.

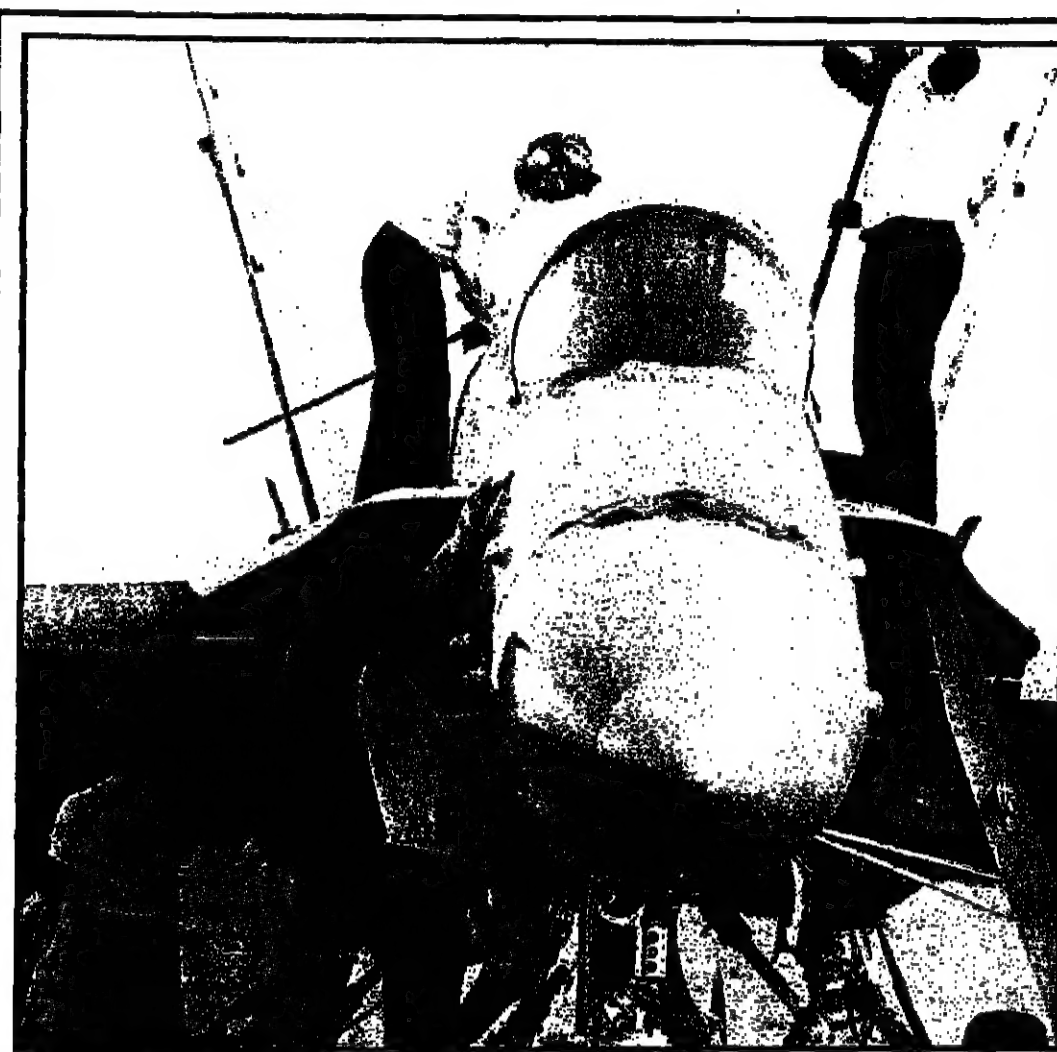
What we can expect for the winter, when we usually get about 95 percent of our annual precipitation, is 90%-110% of the yearly average, Alpers said. However, he could not rule out the possibility that we might have some unusual weather conditions, like heavy snowfalls or high winds.

Israel's predictions, which are based on data recorded since 1950, are almost 70% accurate.

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SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:09 p.m.	5:21 p.m.
Tel Aviv	4:27 p.m.	5:23 p.m.
Haifa	4:17 p.m.	5:20 p.m.
Beth Sheva	4:25 p.m.	5:22 p.m.
Eilat	4:28 p.m.	5:26 p.m.



## Getting shipshape

Crew members of the USS George Washington wash an F-16 Hornet in Haifa port yesterday. The aircraft carrier and its support ships docked in Haifa on Monday, as tensions mounted between the US and Iraq. Story, Page 5.

(AP)

## Absorbing the non-Jews: A social time bomb

By DAN KZENBERG

The battle between the Orthodox establishment in Israel and the Reform and Conservative movements here and abroad over who has the right to convert non-Jews has been waged in public almost exclusively on issues of theology and principle.

But the outcome of the battle will not only have historic consequences for the status of the three streams of Judaism and the future

of relations between Israel and the Diaspora; it will also have a strong and immediate impact on the future of tens of thousands of non-Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union who have moved here with their Jewish families since 1989.

The Law of Return grants these non-Jewish immigrants full citizenship, including the financial benefits offered their Jewish peers.

See NON-JEWS, Page 18

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## Levy: 'Great progress' in Washington talks

# PM, Albright to meet soon

By HILDE KUTTLER

WASHINGTON - Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright will meet next week, possibly in London, in what Foreign Minister David Levy called a positive step for the peace process and US-Israeli relations.

Albright will also meet soon with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, Levy said yesterday.

The development came as Israeli-Palestinian talks concluded yesterday morning with a meeting between Albright, Levy and the PA's chief negotiator, Mahmoud Abbas. Levy and Abbas also met privately.

Negotiations are to resume on Sunday in the region, and Levy and Abbas will meet on November 17, Levy told Israeli reporters, before heading home.

The Albright meetings are meant for her "to divine more clearly what is necessary to reach agreement on all the issues," particularly the "four-part" agenda on security, settlements, final-status issues and Israeli redeployment, State Department

spokesman James Rubin said at his daily briefing.

Rubin called redeployment and a proposed "time-out" on settlement construction "the two most difficult issues," and the "prime topics" planned for Albright's meetings.

Rubin said American officials would attend Sunday's talks, but Levy said US special Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross would not. Levy also said he was unsure whether he would attend the regional economic conference next week in Qatar, which coincides with his scheduled meeting with Abbas.

"There was a great deal of progress," Levy said.

"I think that as opposed to the forecast and what was previously said, everyone thinks... there's a readiness by the two sides to move ahead together to solve the problems - not with dictates, not with a crisis atmosphere, but through a wish to seek ways to together overcome obstacles, to understand one another and find a way to rebuild mutual trust that is the basis for this whole process."

"I return satisfied with the results," Levy added.

He acknowledged that "much work is before us," but that a "real atmosphere of trust" had prevailed. Levy said both sides were on the verge of an agreement on opening the Palestinian airport at Dahaniya.

Gaps were also narrowed on inaugurating a Gaza-West Bank safe passage route, Levy said. Remaining disagreements would be discussed when the committees reconvene. According to Levy, good will now is such that the Palestinians agreed to a request to refrain from taking complaints to the UN when negotiations reach an impasse.

Both sides also swapped papers and ideas on security cooperation and on Palestinian demands for further IDF redeployments, and a halt to settlement construction.

Levy refused to get into specifics on these issues. He said only that "the very fact the Palestinians are considering" Israel's proposals represents "significant progress."

Levy added that the sides were "closer than we were one or two weeks ago" about how to leapfrog to final-status negotiations.

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## NEWS

in brief

### Bombers' families petition against demolitions

Families of four of the suicide bombers from the Mahaneh Yehuda Rehov Ben-Yehuda attacks petitioned the High Court yesterday to try to prevent their homes from being sealed or demolished. They asked for time to conduct new DNA tests on the bodies at a private laboratory abroad. *Batsheva Tsor*

### Mordechai: US helping to modernize IDF

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said yesterday in St. Louis that the US has agreed to modernize Israel's military in efforts to increase preparation for the outbreak of war. Mordechai said that while in Washington he discussed the growing Iranian missile threat to Israel. He said that despite US efforts, Russia continues to sell technology to Iran's missile program. Israel has asked the US for funding for a third battery of Arrow anti-missile missiles. Mordechai said, adding that these were needed to combat a growing Iranian threat. *Steve Rodan*

### Susskin takes witness stand

Tatiana Susskin, 26, accused of posting drawings of the Prophet Mohammed as a pig, took the witness stand in Jerusalem District Court yesterday, and said she suffered from "confusion and disturbances" and was treated in psychiatric hospitals in her native Russia. The posters triggered several days of rioting by Palestinians in Hebron in June and brought condemnation and outrage from the entire Moslem world. Susskin's testimony was cut short when the court's computer system broke down, erasing the entire record of the session. *AP*

### Neeman testifies at Eisenberg hearing

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman gave testimony in the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday on the estate of billionaire Shaul Eisenberg. Neeman was Eisenberg's personal attorney and his office continues to represent Eisenberg's son, Erwin. Neeman told the court Eisenberg, who died eight months ago, had informed him that his will was with a Swiss attorney and his main desire was to keep his family together after his death and prevent a family dispute over his estate, such as the one currently before the court. *Jim*

### Rosen to head local ADL office

Rabbi David Rosen has been named director of the Anti-Defamation League's office in Jerusalem. ADL national director Abraham Foxman announced yesterday. Rosen is also responsible for interfaith relations in Israel and, since 1988, has served as the ADL's co-liaison to the Vatican. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

## A-G: Part of Shamgar report must stay secret

BY LIAT COLLINS  
and BATSHEVA TSOR

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein yesterday instructed cabinet ministers not to reveal the classified section of the Shamgar Commission report on the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, saying the contents could not be published until further notice.

Science Minister Michael Eitan was the first cabinet member to review the classified section of the report. Eitan, who has been compiling material on alleged agent provocateur Avishai Raviv for the past two years, said afterwards he believes that some of the material he has was not

Bursting the 'Champagne' bubble, Page 10

known to the Shamgar Commission when it reached its conclusions.

On Wednesday, Rubinstein ruled that ministers could see the classified section, which deals, among other things, with the role of Raviv, who was working for the General Security Service even as he led several extreme right-wing groups and was a close companion of assassin Yigal Amir.

The decision to at least partially open the files follows the

renewed debate this week on Raviv's role in the incitement that preceded the murder and the revival of a conspiracy theory which most MKs and ministers have rejected.

Without discussing the report itself, Eitan said that he saw no proof of a plot implicating either politicians or the GSS, but he called for a debate on the conclusions of the classified material relating to Raviv to be held at the next cabinet meeting.

"I have reason to believe the material which I have acquired was not presented to the Shamgar Commission."

See RAVIV, Page 18



Freedom of the Press

Press Council president Haim Zadok (right) yesterday presents the recommendations of a committee examining the laws governing the media to Interior Minister Eli Suissa (left) and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi. The committee recommended fewer restrictions and anchoring freedom of the press in a basic law. (Text: Batsheva Tsor; Photo: Ronen Kadem)

## PM undecided on second term for Weizman

By SARAH HONG

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said yesterday he has not yet decided if he will support a second term for President Ezer Weizman.

Speaking to reporters, he lauded Weizman, but said he must first see if anyone else is in the running. He does not, however, rule out backing Weizman, he stressed.

He also said that there is "much justice" to National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon's demand that all cabinet protocols and documents from the Lebanon War be opened for inspection, "so that the question about whether he had misled prime minister Menachem Begin about the objectives of the war be unequivocally settled once and for all."

Sharon had demanded that the documents be made available after he lost a libel suit against Ha'aretz which ran an article saying he had lied to Begin.

Netanyahu said that "after so many years there seems to be a case for demanding that the secrecy be lifted off these documents or parts of them. I have to examine the issue carefully and see if it is not possible to release whatever will not harm national interests."

Netanyahu said he had read the secret appendix to the Shamgar Commission Report dealing with General Security Service agent Avishai Raviv.

"What emerges is a sordid picture of an agent provocateur of the first order. Things seemed to have gone far beyond what they should have," he said.

'Ha'aretz' holds press conference:

## Sharon obstructed Begin's testimony

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Ariel Sharon prevented the introduction of the cabinet protocols from the Lebanon War to the court during his libel suit against Ha'aretz, and put obstacles in the way of letting the late Menachem Begin testify at the trial, Ha'aretz charged yesterday.

Speaking at a Tel Aviv press conference, Ha'aretz editor-in-chief Hanoah Marmari, columnist Uzi Ben-Zion and Attorney Mibi Mozer were responding to Sharon's claim that he lost the libel suit because he was not permitted to present the protocols to the court.

Mozer said that despite Ha'aretz's explicit request to present the court with both the cabi-

net and military protocols from the war, Sharon's attorneys argued that these documents were "irrelevant" and "constitute no evidence."

Mozer said he had expected Sharon to ask former prime minister Begin to testify, and when Sharon did not do so, Ha'aretz did, after making sure Begin would agree to appear in court if summoned.

Sharon's attorney, Dov Weisglass, said Sharon never objected to Begin's testimony; on the contrary, he was interested in hearing it.

As for the protocols, Sharon has been demanding that they be opened for 15 years, Weisglass said, but the state has banned their full publication.

### Winning cards and numbers

In yesterday's first daily Chance drawing, the winning cards were 10 of spades, jack of hearts, queen of diamonds and ace of clubs. In the second drawing, the winning cards were the king of spades, queen of hearts, queen of diamonds and 9 of clubs.

In yesterday's weekly Payis Hazak drawing ticket number 098752 won NIS 1 million, while ticket number 774319 won the car. Tickets ending in 748633, 758623, 238628, 461538, 086472, 479608, 696985 won NIS 5,000.

Tickets ending in 05092, 92526, 53006, 91207, 76697, 61565, 58192, 69562, 92556, 36363, 28515, 82542, 78219, 21291, 15770, 50328, 36699, 08776 and 64619 won NIS 1,000. Tickets ending in 809,317,837 and 503 won NIS 100.

Tickets ending in 92,35,04 and 21 won NIS 30. Tickets ending in 50 and 13 won NIS 20. Tickets ending in 3 and 9 won NIS 10.

## 372 homes approved for Alfei Menashe

By MARGOT DUKKEWICH

Concerned over a possible time-out on construction in settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, settlers announced the construction of 300 housing units in Alfei Menashe yesterday. In addition, the Housing

Ministry published a tender for the construction of an additional 72 government-funded housing units.

Local council head Shlomo Katan said the units, which received governmental approval three weeks ago, had been frozen under the former government.

## Barak buys time to build support

By SARAH HONG

Labor's Party committee last night endorsed chairman Ehud Barak's objections to electing a new secretary-general at the December 8 convention and to appointing all delegates as central committee members.

He promised that the secretary-general would be elected by the central committee at the end of December. Committee members are to be chosen by the 3,700 convention delegates.

The result of yesterday's meeting gave Barak time to appoint his own director-general, who could effectively strip the secretary-general's job of its power before a new one is elected.

Barak himself has held on to the secretary-general's position since he was elected party leader in June.

Meanwhile, Barak told a visiting delegation from the Los Angeles Jewish Federation at the Knesset last night that if attempts at a compromise fail and the convention bill comes to a Knesset vote, "We will raise our hands against this bill."

"We have as a top priority a strong Israel, and in order to have a strong Israel, we must have a strong and united Jewish People," Barak said. "We can't allow a split with the Reform and the Conservative."

Arjeel Dean Cohen contributed to this report.

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**AVISHAI RAVIV**  
"Champagne": The Bubble has Burst

**Ruth Matar interviews**  
Michael Eitan - Minister of Science and Technology  
Rabbi Benny Elon - Knesset Member  
Adir Zyk - Journalist, film maker and radio commentator

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## Onassis kidnapping plot: 'No proof found against Israelis'

By ARLEN O'SULLIVAN

After investigating suspicions that two senior Israeli reserve officers may have been involved in a plot to kidnap the granddaughter of late billionaire Aristotle Onassis, police have dismissed the case for lack of evidence, police sources said yesterday.

According to a recent issue of *Paris Match*, two reserve officers, a colonel and a lieutenant colonel, including one who worked for the General Security Service, had planned to kidnap 12-year-old Athina Roussel, daughter of the late Christina Onassis. She is reportedly the wealthiest child on earth.

The plot was reportedly exposed by another Israeli, identified as Eyal Erlich, who sold the information to Athina's father Thierry Roussel in September for \$50,000. Erlich was arrested by Swiss police, questioned and released.

Swiss police also had issued warnings about a plot to kidnap and ransom Athina, who is to

inherit about \$2.4 billion when she turns 18. Her estate is currently being handled by her father.

According to *Paris Match*, Swiss police identified six suspects, including an Israeli woman and the two officers. An Israeli police spokeswoman confirmed that two Swiss detectives and a judge were in Israel last month to investigate the officers. But they left without finding any evidence, she said.

Nobody has been detained in Israel in connection with the alleged plot, she added. Police sources said that the affair appeared more likely to be about a custody battle over the girl more than a kidnapping attempt.

Christina Onassis died under mysterious circumstances at the age of 38 in 1988, when Athina was only two. Athina is the sole beneficiary of the estate of the late Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis. Aristotle Onassis was the second husband of the late Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, widow of the late US president, John F. Kennedy.



Athena Roussel  
(AP Photo/FILE)

## Saddam said to be operating spy network here

By JAY BUSHINSKY

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq has a network of military intelligence agents operating in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and reporting regularly to counterparts in Baghdad, an independent Palestinian source said yesterday.

The agents arrived in Gaza as members of the Palestine Liberation Army, recruited by Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat for the new Palestinian police.

They are not necessarily Iraqi nationals, the source said, but Palestinians drawn from the PLA and schooled by Saddam Hussein's experts in espionage, terrorism and political infiltration.

"Actually, his intelligence officers thoroughly penetrated the PLA and took control of it," an American expert on Iraqi affairs said. The presence of Iraqi-linked intelligence personnel in the areas under PA jurisdiction is not unique. The source said that Egypt,

Libya and several other Arab states have also had intelligence operatives reporting concurrently to their respective capitals.

Bearing in mind Arafat's cordial relationship with Saddam, the US-based source contended that the stronger the Iraqi ruler seems to be, the more intransigent Arafat becomes, and "as a result, the peacemaking effort bogs down."

The Palestinian source contended that Arafat always has sought "strong allies" and that he included Saddam among them.

Therefore, he concluded, the current showdown and prospective confrontation between the US and Iraq could determine whether the peace process will make significant headway or stagnate and, ultimately, expire.

Meanwhile, Iraqi opposition groups in exile are calling for powerful military action against Saddam, which could bring about his downfall and a "total inability to be rehabilitated ever again," a spokesman said.

## Israel buys 'world's most advanced fighter plane'

By STEVE RODAN

ST. LOUIS — Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai placed the Star of David last night on a new US manufactured plane considered the most advanced in the world, highlighting a \$2.2 billion sale meant to strengthen Israel's deterrence in the Middle East.

The first of 25 F-15I's was rolled out in a ceremony that marked the first time that Israel has participated in the production of an American plane.

Israel has ordered 25 F-15I's with a one-year delivery, scheduled to begin in January.

Israeli and US defense executives said the plane, which contains numerous Israeli subsystems, is the most advanced fighter in production. The plane is based on the dual engine F-15E, which destroyed virtually all the planes lost by Iraq in the 1991 Gulf war.

Mordechai said the F-15I will become operational soon after its arrival in Israel.

"The F-15I, the most advanced in the world, will contribute significantly to achieving victory over our enemies," Mordechai said.

Mike Sears, a vice president of Boeing, the main contractor of the F-15I, added, "now your country has the best of the best. You will have an F-15 enhanced by your government's capabilities."

Officials said that the F-15I is meant to perform long-range missions as far as away as Iran, Iraq, and Libya. The three countries are developing ballistic missiles and non-conventional warheads.

The IAF has invited Boeing and its chief rival, Lockheed Martin, to compete for the supply of an additional 25 planes for its next squadron.

"Not only are we going to meet the requirements," Sears said, "but we're going to win the competition."

As part of the 1994 F-15I deal, Boeing has pledged to spend about \$760 million in Israel to offset the contract. Boeing has spent more than \$500m. in the 10-year industrial participation program launched in 1994.

Other projects in the program are Rafael's Python 4 air-to-air missile, Elbit's display helmet, Elisra's electronic warfare system, and Israel Aircraft Industries' conformal fuel tank.

## IDF detained 168 Palestinians in Hebron

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

The IDF said yesterday that 168 Palestinians were rounded up late Wednesday night in Hebron, then photographed and released in an action aimed at deterring further firebomb and pipe bomb attacks on troops.

The roundup was in response to an increasing number of assaults on soldiers on patrol in the Casbah

area, the IDF spokesman said. The Palestinians were photographed so they could be identified in the event any were involved in a future attack or clash, the spokesman added.

Nobody was arrested, the spokesman said.

Palestinians maintained that as many as 300 people were rounded up in a two-hour action launched just before midnight.



## As the Memorial Day for Yitzchak Rabin approaches... Geshet Announces a National Day of Dialogue

On Sunday November 9th, religious and secular Israelis will meet to participate in dialogue programs in the courtyard of the Tel Aviv Museum, at the Geshet Center in Jerusalem and in community centers across the country.

It's time we made peace with our worst enemy. Ourselves. On November 9th, Geshet will sponsor a National Day of Dialogue, three days before the National Day of Mourning. The project will include dozens of simultaneous public meetings and workshops to be held in schools, homes and community centers across the country, conducted in an open atmosphere by teams of professional moderators and educators.

### The Central Event

A giant tent, erected in the courtyard of the Tel Aviv Museum, 19 Shaul Hamelech Blvd, will be the site of day long programming. In the morning, thousands of students from secular and religious schools throughout Israel will participate in an open forum. In the evening, beginning at 8 pm, public figures, academics and other leaders, including Minister of Education, Zevulun Hammer, will meet in the tent. In addition, a series of forums, led by trained moderators, will be held in the tent, over a cup of coffee. Entry for the general public is free.

### An English-Language Forum

The English-speaking public is invited to take part in a dialogue with Hirsh Goodman, Editor-in-Chief of *The Jerusalem Report* and Rabbi Dr. Aaron Adler of the Neve Orot Synagogue in Ramot, Jerusalem, to be moderated by Sheila Zucker, of the IBA News. The opening dialogue will be followed by a forum of smaller dialogues, led by trained moderators, over coffee, at 8 pm at the Geshet Center coffee house, 10 King David Street, Jerusalem. For information, call Geshet at: (02) 624-1015 or 623 5635.

### At the Geshet Center in Jerusalem

Beginning at 8 pm, Geshet will host a public discussion between academics and public figures at the Geshet Center, 10 King David Street, Jerusalem. Here, too, the public is invited to participate in this forum, over a cup of coffee, facilitated by trained moderators. Entry is free.

### Geshet Kits

Geshet has created activity kits for use in schools and gatherings in private homes. The kits, which include a selection of questions and topics for discussion, can be ordered at no charge through the Telemesser service or via our Internet site.

### Electronic Dialogue

You can discuss the issues of the day electronically, by connecting to Geshet's internet site, [www.geshet.co.il](http://www.geshet.co.il). You'll find: \* Detailed information on Geshet and the Day of Dialogue \* The "Geshet Covenant"-Participants will be able to electronically sign a covenant calling for rapprochement between religious and secular Jews. \* A virtual "soapbox" and discussion groups open to participants worldwide. \* Live forums with the participation of public figures, academics and writers who have responded to Geshet's initiative.

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For additional information, please call Telemesser (03) 765-1177  
For information about the dialogue in English, call Geshet: (02) 624-1015 or 623-5635



## NEWS

in brief

## Laufer gets 33 months in prison

Private investigator Ze'ev Laufer, 52, got a 33-month prison sentence yesterday for bugging the telephones of a long list of business people, *Ma'ariv* journalists, and attorneys.

Tel Aviv Magistrate's Judge David Rosen said in handing down sentence that Laufer had cooperated with police, adding that the eavesdropping was done with the intent of "industrial espionage." Laufer was permitted to postpone the start of his sentence until February 8, provided he post a personal guarantee of NIS 1.5 million and a bank guarantee of NIS 1.5m. *Idm*

## Courts declines to mandate AIDS tests

A petition by a transvestite asking that the High Court of Justice oblige the Health Ministry to carry out regular AIDS checks on prostitutes was rejected yesterday.

Zalman Winder, known as "Zalman-Shushi," said he is afraid that numerous people are being infected through contact with prostitutes. But the Health Ministry responded that it could not force the prostitutes to undergo such tests and does not have the budget for a project of this kind. *Batsheva Tsor and Tim*

## Request to transplant purchased kidney denied

Health officials yesterday rejected a request by Albert Shriki to have a kidney he was to purchase from a Turkish donor transplanted here. Shriki said that buying a kidney was "the only way I could save my life," since the wait for a voluntary donor is long.

Dr. Ami Barzilai, head of Israel Transplant, the national transplant coordination center, said that once patients are permitted to buy organs the entire donation system could collapse, as potential donors would hold out to be paid. *Judy Siegel*

## Vulture named for Ron Arad to be freed

A vulture named Ron, after missing IAF navigator Ron Arad, is to be released to the wild tomorrow at the Golan nature reserve on the Golan Heights. The spokesman for the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel said the date had been timed to coincide as closely as possible with the eleventh anniversary of Arad's captivity. The young vulture was found a month ago. It was suffering from exhaustion and was taken to the "Born to the Wild" veterinary surgery SPNI runs, in conjunction with Tuva, in Tel Aviv. *David Ridge*

## Agency restructuring plan approved

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

A restructuring program that its leaders hope will turn the Jewish Agency into a more efficient, less political organization was approved yesterday at the concluding meeting of the Board of Governors.

The move will unify the administrative functions of the World Zionist Organization and the agency, which officials hope will also cut costs.

The plan will put professional administrators rather than political appointees at the head of the four agency departments: Aliya

and Absorption; Education; Israel; and Activities in the Former Soviet Union. The World Zionist Organization's Education Authority will become part of the Education Department.

"When I took office two-and-a-half years ago, I said I wanted to rebuild this organization, reform it, and have a unified organization, no duplications, one clear chain of command, and I'm happy that it happened," Chairman Avraham Burg, who presented the proposal along with the Board Chairman Charles (Corky) Goodman, said.

"I believe we now have a very clear chain of command which means you don't have five people from the same Jewish Agency knocking on the same door and saying they represent one of our departments."

He added that this would allow the agency to "be much more flexible and responsive to challenges arising during the natural course of action, i.e. our involvement in the unity of the Jewish people and pluralism."

Burg said that in the past seven years, the agency had shrunk from 4,300 to 800-900 people, a move which was "done with the utmost sensitivity and generosity," and

any further cuts would be handled in the same way.

A proposal was also accepted which will focus future agency activity on the Jewish people, emphasizing physical and spiritual survival, Jewish unity, and tolerance, and activities related to Jewish identity in Israel and abroad.

Burg said among these might be exchange programs between Jewish communities in the Diaspora and Israel and a three-year program credited by universities to teach individuals from Israel and abroad about the Jewish world.

## Histadrut, Treasury talks falter

By DAVID HARRIS

Talks last night between Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman and Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz failed to find a compromise in their dispute over the government's economic plans.

It was their third meeting in 10 days aimed at trying to avert another general strike which the Histadrut has threatened to stage if agreement is not reached by Sunday. The Histadrut objects to planned privatization, the break-up of national monopolies and changes in pension rights.

Before the meeting Neeman warned that meeting Histadrut demands could hurt the economy. Asked by business people if he fears the Histadrut, Neeman responded that he hasn't feared anything since his circumcision.



## Books for women

Nan Rich, president of the US-based National Council of Jewish Women, yesterday shows Beit Shemesh Mayor Danny Vaknin a book from a collection aimed at young women that the organization has donated to the city's library. *(Isaac Harari)*

## Neeman refuses talks with teachers

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman last night refused to negotiate with the Secondary Schools Teachers Association unless they completely called off their sanctions which have prevented school trips from taking place this year.

Neeman's decision led the teachers to cancel an earlier decision they had made to relax some of their sanctions based on an agreement that had been worked out during a three-hour meeting at the President's Residence.

A spokeswoman for the teachers had said that in deference to the efforts of President Ezer Weizman, who attended part of the talks,

teachers would accompany activities outside of school starting on Sunday, but only activities which take place during school hours.

It had been agreed at the meeting between representatives of the teachers, Arye Shamer, the director general of the president's bureau; Education Ministry manpower chief Shimon Harel; and Finance Ministry budget director Yossi Kucik that negotiations on the dispute would begin on Sunday.

The teachers made their decision dependent on Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman's "giving his blessing" to continuing the talks.

The teachers have been demanding compensation for accompanying school trips, while pupils have been protest losing the trips.

## Israel Museum exhibit stirs furor

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer yesterday called on the directors of the Israel Museum to reconsider continuing the exhibition "Live and Die as Eva Braun" by Rose Rosen, a lecturer at Camera Obscura and Beit Berl, currently on display.

In the exhibit, visitors are invited to become Hitler's mistress, Eva

Braun, in Nazi Germany in the year 1945, just prior to her and Hitler's death in a Nazi bunker. It includes doctored German children's illustrations, some pornographic.

Hammer wrote to the museum's directors that his office had been approached by a large group of families of Holocaust survivors and others claiming the exhibit presented Hitler and the Nazis "in a positive light."

Hammer said the families had asked him to express their protest over the exhibit and the fact that they had been very disturbed by it.

Noting he generally did not interfere with museums regarding the content of exhibitions, Hammer wrote: "Because we are dealing with the memory of the Holocaust and our historic and moral duty to respect both its victims and survivors and their families, I would ask that you reconsider the continuation of the

exhibit, or consider removing elements which offend the feelings of many people."

The museum responded that in considering whether to show the exhibit, it had been particularly sensitive to the subject of the Holocaust and to the survivors.

"The exhibit in no way shows Hitler or Eva Braun in a positive light, but rather negatively, and the guilt shown in the exhibit is that of German culture and its exemplars," a museum statement said.

## Where to eat in Israel

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**ATLANTIS FISH & SEA FOOD RESTAURANT** - Three Course Business Lunch for only NIS 59 (incl. one glass of wine). Open daily noon-1 a.m. Mercatim Building, 32 Masli St. Tel. 09-556 8869.

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**THE 7TH PLACE** - Popular Jerusalem dining spot, authentic Southern Indian and dairy cuisine. Spacious, bright and friendly. Live show every night. Koshel. 37 Hill St. (Beit Agon - the journalists center). Tel. 02-625 4495.

**TROCADERO** - New Italian Restaurant and Coffee Shop in the elegant Judea Center at Gush Etzion Junction. Magnificent views. Private Party facilities. Free glass of wine with ad. Open 9 a.m. - midnight & Sat. night. Koshel dairy. Tel. 02-993 4040.

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- The undersigned does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid and reserves the right to conduct negotiations with any of the bidders, or any other party, as it deems fit.
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## Quakes shake Teheran, Rome, Athens

TEHERAN (Reuters) - An earthquake measuring 4.4 on the Richter scale shook a town near Teheran early yesterday morning, sending frightened residents into the streets, the official Iranian news agency IRNA said.

IRNA said the quake, which jolted the town of Varamin, 35 km. southeast of Teheran, was also felt in the capital, but caused no casualties or damage.

IRNA said residents were afraid to return to their homes and had to spend the night outside.

Force four and five earthquakes are powerful enough to cause heavy damage in a populated area. Iran has been hit by three major earthquakes in the past year, as well as hundreds of aftershocks.

Another earthquake, this one measuring five on the Mercalli scale, was felt in several parts of Rome early yesterday, but officials said there were no immediate reports of casualties or damage.

Central Italy has been rocked by a series of quakes since September 26. The epicenters of most have been north of Rome in the Umbria and Marche regions.

And a strong new tremor hit Greece on Wednesday, the fourth in the day, but no injuries or damage were reported, officials said.

The Athens Seismological Institute said the quake, which was felt in Athens and also shook southwestern Greece, measured 5.2 on the Richter scale.

Two tremors hit Athens earlier in the day and a third, also measuring 5.2 on the Richter scale, shook the island of Crete, 300 km. south of the capital.

"It was felt in many parts of Crete and in the Dodecanese islands. This tremor has no relation with the Athens quakes, but there is no doubt we are going through a period of increased earthquake activity," an institute spokesman said.

The quake struck the day after a Balkans summit in Crete attended by leaders from Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bosnia, and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

# UN-Iraq talks resume; US inspectors barred

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - United Nations envoys resumed talks with Iraqi officials yesterday to try to defuse tension over Iraq's ban on American arms inspectors, whom Baghdad again barred from working.

The United Nations halted inspections in Iraq for the fourth consecutive day after the Americans on the monitoring teams were rebuffed.

In New York, the United Nations earlier accused Iraq of tampering with its weapons monitoring system, moving arms-related equipment away from UN surveillance cameras and covering up the camera lenses.

UN officials said on Wednesday that Iraq threw pieces of cloth over some cameras, thereby generating blank pictures in the UN monitoring center in Baghdad.

Richard Butler, head of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM), in charge of ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction under terms of the 1991 Gulf War ceasefire, said Baghdad had apparently taken advantage of the inspections halt and acted while the commission's hands were tied.

Butler on Tuesday suspended U-2 surveillance flights while the UN mediation team was in Baghdad. He said the flights would resume early next week, adding: "We couldn't lose too many of those without serious harm to our bank of knowledge."

Without a clean bill of health from Butler, Iraq will remain under wide-ranging sanctions imposed when Baghdad's troops invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

US State Department spokesman James Rubin called the reported Iraqi moves "troubling." Referring to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, he said: "It's another example of him flouting the will of the



United Nations Special Envoy Lakhdar Brahimi (left), and Iraqi deputy premier Tariq Aziz talk to reporters before starting their third round of talks in Baghdad yesterday.

Security Council and the international community."

The official Iraqi news agency INA, reporting the latest rebuff to American inspectors, said yesterday: "When the teams arrived at two sites early this morning, they were informed by the Iraqi side that they could enter the sites but without the American inspectors."

But they refused to enter and they retreated to their headquarters in Baghdad."

INA said the teams included experts on missile, biological and chemical weapons and remote monitoring.

Iraqi leaders decided last week to expel Americans among a 100-member UN arms inspection team

and they were given a week to leave Iraq.

Later the deadline for the Americans' departure, originally 1 a.m. local time yesterday, was extended until after the UN envoys return next week to report to the UN Security Council.

INA said a third round of talks between Iraqi officials and a mis-

sion sent by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan started yesterday morning.

Asked whether he was optimistic about the results, Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, heading Iraq's side, told reporters: "I hope so."

The UN mission is headed by former Algerian foreign minister

Lakhdar Brahimi. The other members are former Argentine UN representative Emilio Cardenas and Jan Eliasson of Sweden.

The other Iraqi officials in the talks are Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahaf, Oil Minister Amir Mohammed Rasheed, adviser in the Presidency Office Amir al-Saadi and Iraq's UN envoy Nizar Hamdoun.

An Iraqi newspaper said it hoped that the UN mission would take a constructive approach on lifting UN sanctions.

"We are expecting that the UN envoys have come to Iraq carrying in their bags constructive views and serious and concrete promises and obligations (on lifting sanctions)," the ruling Baath party newspaper *al-Thawra* said.

"We are expecting it to be neutral and listen deeply to Iraq's point of view."

"While we are welcoming the mission, we want to make sure that our enemy in this so-called crisis is not the United Nations and its Security Council - it is America," it said.

"If America wants to commit a new aggression against our country, let it do it, but the UN should not give it the cover to do so." While still under UN sanctions, Iraq is allowed to sell about a million barrels of oil a day under a special arrangement with the United Nations in exchange for food and medicine for Iraqi citizens.

Amid growing winter oil demand, any reduction in supply of that magnitude could send crude oil prices soaring, even though Western stocks of oil are now comfortable.

The oil-for-food deal, allowing Baghdad \$2 billion worth of sales every six months, comes up for renewal in early December.

## Rights groups to Russia: Address sex-export problem

By CHRISTINA LING

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Human rights organizations called on Russia and other countries from the former Soviet Union yesterday to urgently address what they said was a growing problem with women being sent abroad as prostitutes.

"The current status of NIS (Newly Independent States) countries as sending, transit and receiving countries for trafficking in women demands an immediate response," they said after an international conference in Moscow.

Posting as employment and travel agencies, criminal groups promise women jobs as waitresses and barmaids overseas but then treat them as slaves, forcing them to work as prostitutes to pay off thousand-dollar

"debts," the activists said. The victims, typically women aged between 16 and 35, are often raped and beaten, have their passports confiscated and are threatened with harm to themselves or their families if they try to break their "contracts" or seek help.

"The international community has condemned this heinous crime through a convention which Russia has ratified - the Convention on the Suppression of Traffic of Persons and the Exploitation and Prostitution of Others," said Michael Platzer of the UN body overseeing crime prevention based in Vienna.

Gillian Caldwell of the Global Survival Network said UN estimates showed the criminal groups raked in \$7 billion annually from illegal trafficking in women.

Participants in the conference, the first of its kind to be held in Russia, urged governments to set up educational and victim support programs and to make trafficking a criminal offense, but said the battle would be an uphill one.

Of a number of Russian government ministries invited to the conference, only the justice ministry and the ministry of labor and social protection sent top level delegates, said conference coordinator Yuri Dzhibladze.

"The situation in my opinion is fairly indicative of the lack of interest and preparation in our government and the ministries to deal seriously with this problem," he said.

The growth of Russia's criminal underworld has gripped people at home and abroad with a horrified

fascination since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

But trafficking in human beings has so far focused primarily on adoptions of babies by foreign couples.

Russia says it is making strides in the fight against crime, but this week Interior Minister Anatoly Kulikov said a lack of funding was a severe problem.

He made no mention of the sex-trafficking problem. But Caldwell said a two-year undercover investigation of the trafficking business by her agency had suggested links between traffickers and the government.

The human rights groups said the trafficking in women from the Soviet Union had exploded since 1989, matching or overtaking previ-

ous sources of supply in Asia and Latin America.

"In 1989, there were 378 women from the former Soviet Union who entered Japan on entertainment visas. By 1995, from Russia alone there were 4,763 Russian women

who entered Japan on entertainers' visas," said Caldwell.

"The numbers of Russian and NIS women trafficked into countries throughout Europe, Asia, North America and the Middle East are comparable," she added.

## Greece to jail Moslem cleric for wrongful use of title

ATHENS (Reuters) - A Greek court yesterday sentenced a Moslem cleric to 22 months in jail for assuming the title of religious leader of a Moslem minority in northern Greece, the semi-official

Athens News Agency (ANA) said. A court in Lamia found Mehmet Emin Aga guilty on three counts of unlawfully using the title "mufiti" when addressing the minority. He was released pending

an appeal. Under a 1990 law, the Greek state has the right to pick the minority's two mufitis from a list of candidates submitted by a panel of 11 minority leaders.

Aga, son of the previous mufiti of Xanthi, had served as deputy until his father's death in 1990. He did not allow his name to be put on the list, saying he was the rightful mufiti.

He has been repeatedly found guilty and sentenced over using the title. His jail sentences are usually converted to fines, but he was once imprisoned after refusing to pay.

The 120,000 Moslems in northeastern Greece are remnants of the Ottoman Empire which until 1913 ruled the regions of Thrace which straddle the Greek-Turkish border. Turkey says they are ethnic

Turks and their minority rights are violated by Greece. Greece says they come from various ethnic groups which at some time converted to Islam and takes offense at their description as Turks.

Their rights have been an issue of friction between Athens and Ankara, adding to other problems such as the divided island of Cyprus and rights in the Aegean Sea.

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on  
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in a Changing Global Arena  
The lecture will be given on Sunday, November 9, at 5:30 p.m.  
**PLEASE NOTE:** In response to the great interest in the lecture, the venue has been changed to Rovina Hall, the Habimah Theater, Tel Aviv.  
The doors will be closed at 5:15 p.m. prompt.  
Entrance by invitation only.

**The Impact of Religion on Politics at the End of the Twentieth Century**  
**An International Conference**  
November 10-12, 1997  
Laromna Hotel, 3 Jabotinsky St. Jerusalem  
**Monday, Nov. 10, 1997:**  
**18:00 - 20:30 OPENING SESSION & RECEPTION**  
Dr. R. Z. Johannes Gerster, Resident Representative, Konrad Adenauer Foundation  
Mr. Shalom P. Doron, Chairman, B'nai B'rith World Center, Jerusalem  
**Keynote Speakers:**  
Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, Director, Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
"Religion and Public Space"  
Bishop Prof. Dr. Dr. Karl Lehmann, Head of the German Bishops Conference  
"Freedom and Cooperation: The Relationship Between Religion, State and Society in Modern Constitutions"  
reception - by invitation  
**Tuesday, Nov. 11, 1997:**  
**09:00 - 10:30 SESSION II**  
United States: The Involvement of Religious Groups in Public Life  
Cracks in the Wall of Separation Between Church and State?  
chair: Prof. Peter Medding, Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University  
Prof. Kenneth Wald, Dept. of Political Science, University of Florida  
Dr. Robert Royal, Vice President for Research, Ethics & Public Policy Center, Washington D.C.  
Dr. Steven K. Green, Legal Director, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, Washington D.C.  
**11:00 - 12:30 SESSION III**  
Western Europe: The Relevance of Religion in Secular Society  
chair: Dr. Jörg Bremer, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
Dr. Klaus Schmidt, German TV  
Father Carlo Huber S.J., Pontifical University Gregoriana, Rome  
Mr. Jérôme Vignon, Head of the Group of Advisors to the President of the European Commission, Brussels  
Mr. Ben Briscoe, Member of the Irish Parliament  
**14:30 - 16:00 SESSION IV**  
Eastern Europe: The Establishment of Democracy and the Resurgence of Religion - A Contradiction?  
chair: Prof. Theodore H. Freidiger, Chair, Department of Russian and Slavic Studies, Hebrew University  
Dr. Raphael Vago, Senior Lecturer, Cummings Center for Russian & East European Studies, Tel Aviv University  
Mr. Jiri Schneider, Ambassador of the Czech Republic  
Prof. Father George Edelstein, Russia  
Dr. Pawel Spiewak, University of Warsaw, Department of Sociology  
**Wednesday, Nov. 12, 1997:**  
**09:30 - 11:00 SESSION V**  
The Islamic World: Do Secular States Have a Future?  
chair: Prof. Martin Kramer, Head of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University  
Prof. Sasson Somekh, Director, Israel Academic Center, Cairo  
Prof. Dr. Ethem Ruhi Figlali, Professor of the History of Islamic Sects, University of Mugla, Turkey  
Ziad Abu Zayd, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council  
**11:30 - 13:30 CLOSING SESSION**  
Israel: Can Democracy and Religion Coexist in Their Current Forms?  
Chair: Prof. Ira Shoransky, Professor of Political Science, Wolfson Chair in Public Administration, Hebrew University  
Adv. Shulamit Aloni, former Minister of Education and the Arts  
Prof. Avner Hai Shalev, MK (NRP)  
Dr. Azmi Bishara, MK (Hadash), Russia  
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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON

EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION: The Jerusalem Post Building, P.O. Box 81, Ramat Gan, Jerusalem 91000  
Telephone 02-531-5666, Fax 02-538-9527, CIRCULATION—02-531-5610, (77-022-2278, Fax 02-538-9017, ADVERTISING—02-531-5608, 02-531-5638-40 Fax 02-538-8408, TEL AVIV: 5 Rehov Hama'az, P.O. Box 28398 (61283) Telephone 02-6390333, Fax 02-6390277. Published daily except Saturdays, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Jerusalem Post Ltd. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. © The Jerusalem Post 1997. Reproduction, or storage in a retrieval system, or in any other form, is prohibited without permission. Editors: 1932-1955 GERSHON AGRON, 1955-1974 TED LUBIE, 1974-1975 LEA BENDOR, 1975-1989 ARI RATH and ERWIN FRENKEL, 1989-1992 N. DAVID GROSS, 1992-1996 DAVID BAR-ILLAN  
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## The right to mourn

After two years, the stark, unfathomable facts remain, staring the nation in the face, demanding a response: Prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by a sane, educated, religious Jew, who believed that many would regard him as a hero. The nation, like an individual prevented from properly mourning a terrible loss, has not recovered and may never be the same again. It is not true, however, that nothing has changed.

We have changed from a nation that thought itself immune to incitement to one in which the charge of incitement has become a political football. In the months before the assassination, many had an ominous feeling that the increasingly violent rhetoric on the Right could translate into actual violence. At the same time, the prospect of a Jew shooting the prime minister was so unthinkable that even the security services did not really consider it a possibility.

Now, mass rallies peppered with signs calling an Israeli leader—a traitor or murderer, are hard to imagine. The connection between verbal and actual violence has been severed into the Israeli consciousness. Now, almost any insult can be termed "incitement," as can even the charge of incitement itself.

Yet paradoxically, there seems to have been no moderating of Israeli political culture. Knesset debates are just as raucous, the talk shows just as argumentative, and the willingness to listen to one another just as scarce as they had been before. We may now know how dangerous it is to incite, but we have not learned how to listen to each other, to treat an opposing view as legitimate, or to calmly defuse passions.

But hidden under the barely reformed bitterness of the public debate is a critical broadening of the country's political center. The repeated claims that Rabin's assassin succeeded in his aims are misleading. As one columnist recently pointed out, Benjamin Netanyahu won the last election despite—not because of—the assassination. Before it, he was ahead of Rabin in the polls; after it, the polls showed that Shimon Peres and the peace process enjoyed a substantial gain in support. Peres lost because he was seen not to have effectively responded to a horrific spate of suicide bombings; Netanyahu won because he committed to continue the peace process while more aggressively combating terrorism.

This fundamental shift in public opinion in favor of the peace process remains a legacy of Rabin's life and his death. The broad center of Israelis are convinced, as Rabin was, that the peace process is risky, but that the alternatives are worse. Netanyahu's fortunes have flagged.

not because he has ignored this political consensus, but because he has been unable to satisfy it and his right-wing coalition at the same time.

The fact, however, that the peace process seems to be on shaky ground exacerbates a more fundamental tear in the social fabric. A significant portion of society blames another significant portion for the worst crime in Israel's history. A chilling poster captures the mood of the left-wing, picturing Rabin under the words "we won't forget," and Netanyahu under "we won't forgive."

But according to a poll just commissioned by the Geshar Foundation, a group promoting secular-religious ties, the attempt to focus the blame in this fashion does not reflect the majority sentiment: 60 percent of Israelis believed that the religious and secular communities must equally engage in "soul searching," while 28% believe the religious camp bore greater responsibility.

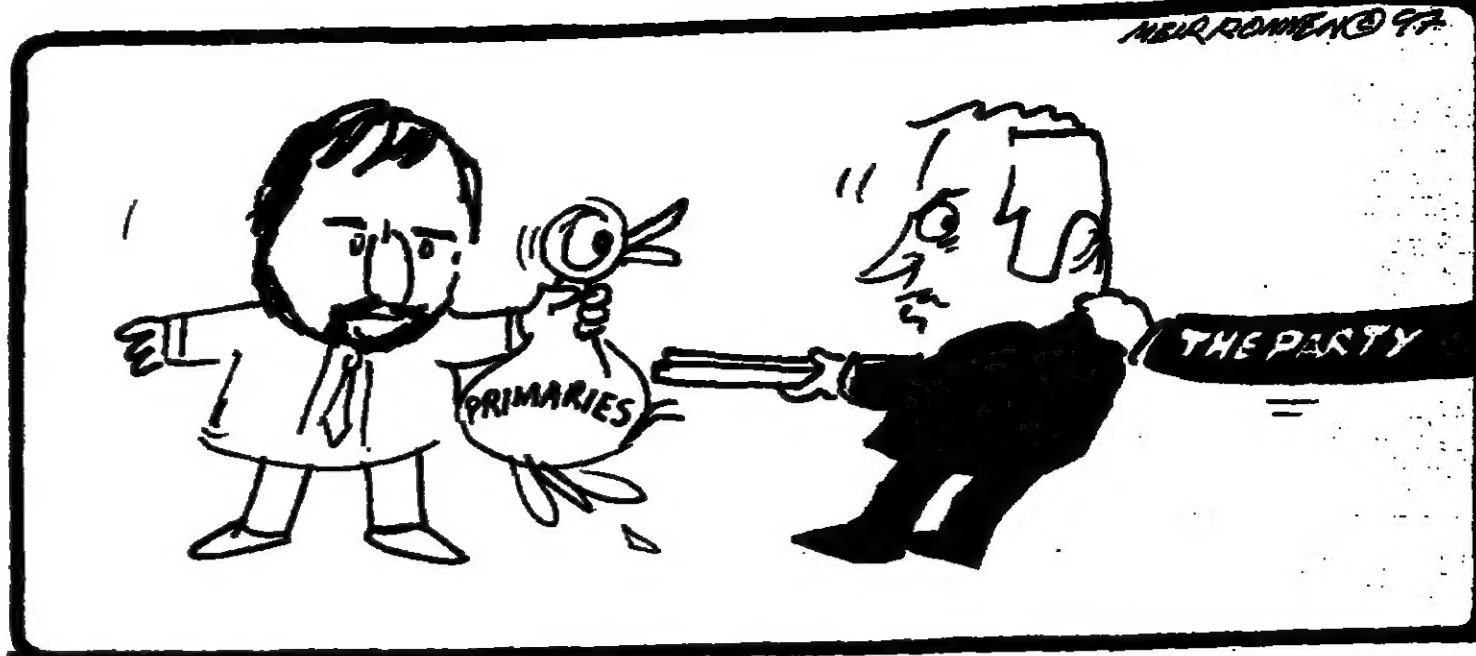
Evidently, most Israelis instinctively resist placing collective blame on one group, and believe that neither camp is blameless for the atmosphere of intolerance that characterizes public debate. Presumably, a similar majority would be against blatant attempts to politicize national ceremonies of mourning, such as Labor faction head Ra'anana Cohen's demand that Netanyahu apologize, or be barred from speaking at the special Knesset session commemorating Rabin.

Perhaps sensing that the public is repelled by using Rabin's memory as a political cudgel, Labor Party leader Ehud Barak has shied away from linking Netanyahu personally to Rabin's murder. The fact is, it is not necessary to do so. Everyone understands that it was Netanyahu's responsibility to have made the extremists who called Rabin a traitor and murderer unwelcome at Likud rallies. Netanyahu has yet to fully answer for that failure, or to lead the national camp in purging itself of those who supported Rabin's murder.

Barak, on the other hand, is today playing the game of turning a blind eye. Though Netanyahu bears some indirect responsibility, Barak knows it is wrong and divisive to single him out as the focus of blame. Yet he stands by as senior members of his party—not street agitators—are deliberately politicizing the nation's grief.

The murder of Yitzhak Rabin was a national tragedy. The Right has a job to do in rooting out violent extremism and the ideologies that justify it, and the Left must not thwart that process by tarring an entire camp.

We all have the responsibility to change and the right to mourn.



## Primary politics

MOSHE ARENS

primaries are suitable to our system.

Whereas in the US the candidates contesting a primary race are vying for the chance to run against the candidate of the opposing party in a particular election district, Israeli candidates participating in a primary race are actually fighting for a position on the nationwide ordered list of names

campaign? To make sure that the candidates' positions are consistent with the party's ideology? Not very likely.

The campaign financing of aspiring Knesset candidates does not seem to be high on the list of concerns of Likud functionaries, and ideology has lately taken a back seat to power politics and demands for personal loyalty.

**We are witnessing an attempt to further extend the distorting effect that the direct election of the prime minister has had on our democracy**

their party is to submit for the Knesset elections. Thereafter, it is a contest between parties and not between the winners of primary races.

The advantage of the primary system in the Israeli context is that it provides the aspiring candidates, if they can raise the large amounts of money required for a primary campaign, a chance to appeal to a wide public and not to be totally dependent on the party bureaucracy to determine their place on the party's list of Knesset candidates.

NOW that the two large parties have adopted primaries as the method of composing their list of Knesset candidates, why would anybody in the Likud wish to return the contest to a narrower party forum? To save the candidates the expense of a primary

What we are actually witnessing is an attempt to further extend the distorting effect that the law for the direct election of the prime minister has had on our democracy. The big parties, the mainstays of the democratic framework in all democracies, have been seriously weakened. With their reduced representation in the Knesset, their ability to constitute a counterweight to the prime minister's powers are essentially zero.

The prime minister, having been elected directly to a four-year term, is immune to criticism of his actions from his own party. Moreover, his unique position as the only candidate to run in direct elections has made it easy for him to take control of the party's apparatus.

Moving the election of the party's Knesset candidates to the

central committee will permit the prime minister to hand-pick the next Knesset list, and remove whatever vestige of independence is still retained by the Knesset faction. It would reduce what has been Israel's largest political party to a cheering section for the prime minister.

These negative developments follow inevitably from the law for the direct election of the prime minister. We are likely to witness parallel developments in the Labor Party. In that case, both large parties will be reduced to non-entities.

There are some who feel that little will be lost in the process. That someone wishing to become prime minister has no need for a party. All he presumably needs is a war chest of a few tens of millions of dollars and a good public relations team to conduct a successful campaign. After being elected he will be in a position to cut deals with the many small parties with narrow parochial interests that from now on will constitute a majority of the Knesset.

Surely, most Israelis will not welcome this degradation of democracy, and hopefully we will have the good sense to repeal the direct election of the prime minister law before the next election. If, after serious consideration, it is eventually concluded that primary elections are not the most suitable way to nominate our MKs, the change must be left in abeyance until we have returned to a properly functioning system of parliamentary government.

The writer is a former foreign and defense minister.

## The vacuum at the top

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

shouldn't have personal responsibility, because he doesn't know how it should be exercised.

We have no institution comparable to the National Security Council, which monitors the Central Intelligence Agency in the United States. A special forum representing senior government ministers would be preferable to the sort of happenstance consultation that appears to be the order of the day under Netanyahu.

Even the consultation that did take place, with regard to the assassination decision, appears to have been largely confined to the bureaucratic, rather than to the political level. The input came from the generals, not from the politicians. The only civilian control of the security services appears to be the media-oriented judgment of the prime minister himself.

In his heart of hearts, Netanyahu would rather do without a cabinet altogether

trust him. Netanyahu prefers party hacks to party leaders. Party leaders have a following with the rank and file. Under the primary system, their source of legitimacy is comparable to that of the popularly elected prime minister. Hence, they are his rivals.

When he put together his government, his initial intention was to exclude both Ariel Sharon and Dan Meridor, his rivals for popular support. He was constrained by coalition deals and electoral considerations to include both David Levy and Yitzhak Mordechai. However, both foreign policy and national security, according to the grand design, would be handled from the Prime Minister's Office.

Non-party professionals, Jacob Frenkel and Yaakov Neeman,

were his original choices for ministers of finance and justice.

Party hacks are preferable to party leaders. Party hacks have no source of legitimacy other than their place in the party organization. Control of the organization gives Netanyahu control of the party hacks. Hence, the proposal to cancel the primaries.

This is an unforeseen and paradoxical consequence of the direct election of the prime minister. Party leaders with a popular base of support are rivals, not allies. There is now a significant difference between two kinds of political grass roots. There is a crucial distinction between the mass following, which chooses the leaders, and the organizational rank and file, which caters to them.

In the future, therefore, a popularly elected prime minister is likely to breed a Knesset membership whose loyalty is primarily to the party organization. Popular appeal would be a disadvantage. Loyalty, not popularity, would likewise be the key to ministerial appointment.

The paradoxical consequence of the popular election of the prime minister would then be the creation of a new breed of non-leaders at the Knesset and governmental level. The direct election law has changed little in the politics of coalition government, which was the aim of the electoral reform. It promises to have much greater influence within the ruling party itself.

The writer is a legal and political commentator.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### SNIDE REMARKS

Sir, — Peace is the goal of all Jews so the Peres Peace Center is a welcome addition to the Israeli scene. And it was wonderful that former US secretary of state Warren Christopher, among other dignitaries, came to the dedication last month.

The Egyptian foreign minister took the occasion to criticize the Israeli approach to the "peace process." Have we lost all of our pride and sense of justice? Why didn't anyone present, Peres, Christopher, Beilin et al answer the minister? Didn't anyone have the sense of decency to tell Amr Moussa, albeit diplomatically, that the controlled Egyptian press still spews calumny on a daily basis against Jews and Israelis? Why didn't anyone rise to tell the Egyptian that a "cold peace" is merely the temporary absence of war?

When will the Egyptians change their school textbooks which are vile to the Jewish people? What chutzpah for Moussa to criticize the Israeli peace approach! But the minister knew his listeners. He could make his snide remarks and be confident that the Israelis would roll over.

LEON A. LAUTERBACH  
Jerusalem.

### SUCH HATRED

Sir, — I was shocked and saddened that night two years ago when the film *Crocodile Dundee* was interrupted and we heard Yitzhak Rabin had been shot.

I want to mourn Rabin but the commemoration has been hijacked by the factionalism and hatred which brought about this awful killing. Outside the prime minister's residence in Jerusalem the Left have put up posters with the picture of Rabin, saying "We

will not forget" and pictures of Benjamin Netanyahu with the caption "and we will not forgive." The Right meanwhile have filled billboards bearing the word "Altalena." I want to mourn, publicly and privately. I don't, however, want to get involved in these wranglings, certainly not in the name of a man slain as a result of exactly such hatred.

NICOLA SIMMONDS  
Jerusalem.

### CALLOUS

Sir, — In *The Jerusalem Post* of November 5, we find on page 4 a small item titled "Youths caught trying to burn Arab olive grove." With utter nonchalance, the *Post* goes on to report that the police spokesman announced that "the two were allowed to go home."

Can anyone imagine that same statement being made about two Arab youngsters found guilty of having tried to burn a Jewish grove?

How callous have we become? How deep is the rot that allows such a little news item to go by unchallenged and be accepted as most natural?

DAVID RUBINGER  
Jerusalem.

### RAVIV'S ROLE

Sir, — In the last few days, much has been written about Yitzhak Rabin's assassination. The most asked questions are: Who is Avishai Raviv? What was his real involvement? Where is he today?

Since former Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar has said that the secret section of his report on the assassination, dealing with the General Security Service and the role of Raviv could be made public, aren't we entitled to know once and for all how Raviv was involved?

One thing we do know, it was Raviv who held that picture of Rabin in an SS uniform. What else was he really responsible for?

LILA BRODSKY  
Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

50 years ago: On November 7, 1947, *The Palestine Post* reported from London that the British Foreign Office with Cabinet backing declined participation in the present UN plans for the Partition of Palestine, and recommended the adoption of the Federal Scheme outlined by Mr. Morrison last year with certain modifications regarding immigration and self-government.

In Tel Aviv eight workers' parties and organizations urged the

community to mobilize manpower and resources under the authority of national bodies in connection with the impending political crisis.

25 years ago: On November 7, 1972, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that Defense Minister Moshe Dayan told local Hebron leaders that nothing could be done to change the recent arrangements concerning Jewish worship at the Tomb of the Patriarchs.

Meyer Lansky, the reputed

mafia leader sought by the US ended his two-year stay in Israel and boarded a Swiss plane for an unknown destination. He was refused immigrant status because of his alleged criminal past, and left the country a week before his deadline.

Egypt reiterated its objections to direct negotiations with Israel and again asserted it would oppose any partial settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Alexander Zvielli

WHEN THEY heard about his death, Robert J. Oliver's friends and family gathered at the Boston hospital and cried over the body, holding his cold hand and rubbing his clammy brow.

Funeral clothes were picked out. The wake was being planned. Oliver's daughter-in-law waited until the next morning to break the news to her husband, who was fishing. When she finally called the family's cottage, the man she had been mourning for about 12 hours answered the phone.

"It took me 20 minutes to calm her down," Oliver said. She was just saying, "You're dead. You're dead."

Hospital officials had called the family of the wrong Robert Oliver. The man who died, Robert W. Oliver, had a home in Quincy, just like Robert J. Oliver.

The men were about the same age, 62 for Robert W., 64 for Robert J., with similar builds and brown eyes.

Robert W., however, had an unlisted phone number, while Robert J. was in the book.

One of Robert J.'s relatives, who held Robert W.'s hand for 20 minutes at the hospital, said she feels a strange connection to him.

"Now that I see he didn't really have a lot of family himself, I'm glad somebody was there for him," she said.

HOW MUCH should it cost to bury a pet rabbit?

A fellow whose dog killed the bunny offered to pay \$450, but the rabbit's owner demanded \$905 for a more lavish sendoff.

Pepi Novick of Los Angeles said she wants the rabbit, named Tucson, buried in a celebrity pet cemetery alongside such noted animals as Hopalong Cassidy's horse Topper, Humphrey Bogart's dog Droopy and Charlie Chaplin's cat Boots.

The dog's owners, Steve and Marsha Artega, sent Novick a note of condolence accepting

responsibility for Tucson's death and enclosed a check for \$450 to cover the costs of the burial at a less ritzy cemetery.

But Novick considered the check an insult and demanded the Artegas pay the full cost, which includes an ornate headstone with a laser-etched photo of Tucson on it, a statue of the rabbit lying on a piece of carpet and even a bowl containing rabbit food and Tucson's favorite treat, an apple.

"They killed my bunny. It doesn't cost \$450 to bury my bunny, it costs \$905," Novick told the press.

Novick, of course, is planning to sue.



## Saddam's challenge

MOSHE ZAK

The American strategic doctrine of a dual containment of Iran and Iraq, developed following the Gulf War, received two recent blows. This doctrine, which Ambassador Martin Indyk formulated while serving in the National Security Council, has not collapsed, but it has cracked on both the Iranian and Iraqi fronts. The cracks should worry not only the US, but also Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Washington's weakness was revealed by the crisis that broke out this week following Saddam Hussein's announcement that American inspectors would not be allowed to participate in the UN team making sure that Iraq does not manufacture weapons of mass destruction. The aggressive statements warning Iraq soon gave way to a compromise: A UN delegation went to Baghdad for talks, and while it is there the American inspectors will not be expelled. But in return American U-2 spy planes will stop overflying Iraq.

The fact is that Saddam has partners who are indirectly responsible for his defying President Bill Clinton. Economic interests in Paris and Moscow provoked him with the large economic deal that they signed with Iraq, despite determined American opposition. The American administration was furious, and Congress talked about imposing sanctions on the companies involved, but in the end the storm died down. The administration showed itself as hesitant. Its helplessness encouraged Saddam, who is fighting for the abolition of the embargo imposed on his country by the UN Security Council.

Saddam gained additional encouragement from the comments of French and Russian representatives, who suggested setting a closing date for the embargo on Iraq. It's possible that these representatives now regret their statements, which unintentionally caused the current crisis. It's possible that their opposition to the deportation of the American inspectors is a sign of regret.

But Saddam has no regrets. He wanted to prove that although he lost the war, the spirit of the Iraqi people is unbowed, and he is not moved by American threats. He is ready for a confrontation whenever the American inspectors come close to discovering his military secrets.

**US sticking to a dual containment doctrine is essential for peace in the Middle East**

THE peace process gained momentum from the anti-Saddam coalition's victory in the Gulf War. This momentum turned the wheels of the Madrid conference and the Israeli-Arab negotiations. Saddam's challenge to US preeminence in the region is liable to undermine the existing peace treaties and, moreover, the ongoing talks between Israel and Jordan, and the talks between Israel and the Palestinians. It is liable to strengthen the coalition of US flag burners in Baghdad, Gaza, and Ramallah.

A strong US position in the Middle East is essential for peace.

America's influence isn't measured by its success in bringing Arab states to the economic congress in Qatar, even though Washington is ready to demand Israeli concessions to the Palestinians to ensure that participation. US influence depends on its ability to stand up to the opponents of its strategic doctrine regarding Iran and Iraq, the two countries trying to undermine its preeminence.

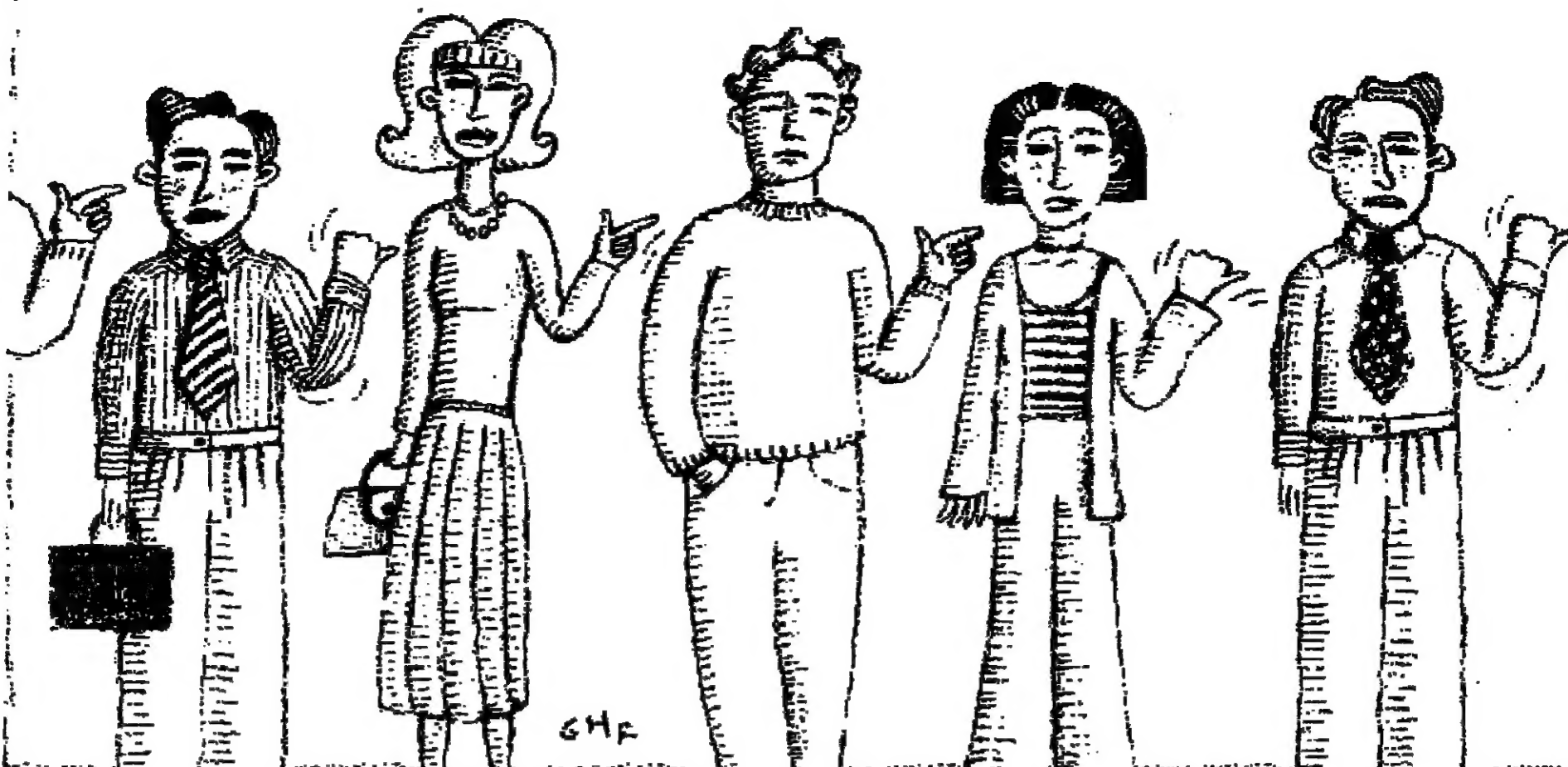
The US failure in Baghdad is liable to lead the region into many dangers. Of course, the US cannot be trigger-happy whenever it runs into difficulties, but it cannot be seen by Iraq as hesitant. Saddam's impression that the US would not come to Kuwait's defense prompted the Iraqi invasion.

The Iraqi leader is trying to emulate Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. He remembers that in 1967, after Nasser expelled UN forces from Sinai, the UN secretary-general hurried to Cairo with a proposal to link the question of Israeli freedom of shipping in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran to a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. Saddam suggested a similar deal to Russian envoy Yevgeny Primakov before the Gulf War: withdrawal from Kuwait in exchange for a promise of Israeli withdrawal from the territories.

Saddam may well play the pressure-on-Israel card in his negotiations with the UN delegation. The Iraqi ambassador at the UN had already floated the idea that Iraq will yield to all UN resolutions if the US will compel Israel to bow to other UN resolutions.

The outcome of the crisis will depend on Saddam's assessment of whether he can buy a resolution of the crisis at Israel's expense. Such a settlement will weaken the US's position and is liable to damage its allies in the Middle East.

The writer is a Jerusalem Post columnist.



## Rabin's real legacy: Everything is not OK

GERALD M. STEINBERG

The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin left a gaping hole in the fabric of Israeli public life. For more than 50 years, Rabin was a central figure in the army and politics and, while he might have made mistakes, the standards he set for public service were unique. The example of personal responsibility he set and his refusal to pass on the blame for his mistakes to others are sorely missed.

Although Rabin rose to the highest positions in the country, he was always unassuming and never pompous. In his personality and ethics, he defined the ideals of a civil servant. Rabin did not grow rich or capitalize on the high positions he held, but was always guided by the needs of Israel and the Jewish people, as he viewed them.

In the long term, his greatest legacy will not be the shaky agreements with the Palestinians, but rather his unbending sense of personal responsibility and the example he set.

He began his public career in the Palmach, and then played an

important role in the War of Independence. He rose through the ranks, eventually becoming chief of general staff in 1964. Working steadily and shunning publicity (the latter characteristic has become very rare among senior career officers), he was responsible for turning the IDF into a professional military whose capabilities were demonstrated in the Six Day War.

After 1967, he left the military, becoming ambassador to the United States and later, embarked on a long political career. But despite the turn to politics, in some ways, Rabin never left the IDF, and he was always most comfortable when he was among soldiers.

As defense minister for almost a decade (in the governments of national unity from 1984 to 1990, and then while also serving as prime minister after 1992), Rabin was very concerned about the decline in the conception of leadership in IDF. Because the military is both a foundation and a reflection of much wider aspects of Israeli

society, this decline spread to the country as a whole.

As time went on, Rabin spoke out with increasing passion on the systematic efforts of senior leaders to escape responsibility and to blame others for mistakes. Instead of personally ensuring that each aspect of an operation, a program, or a

RABIN was deeply disturbed by the combination of "smoch" and "yihveh b'seder" (it will be OK). In an address to IDF officers in August 1992, he warned that this "this combination of words which many hear in the day-to-day life of the State of Israel is unbearable."

He decried the fact that these

**His greatest legacy will not be the shaky agreements with the Palestinians, but his unbending sense of personal responsibility**

weapon was carefully checked, and every failure investigated and corrected, officers were passing responsibility to others lower down the chain of command. The "smoch" system was the order of the day, meaning that instead of personally checking every detail, officers simply relied on others, and the results were often disastrous.

cliches hide "everything which is not b'seder - the arrogance and sense of self-confidence, strength, and power which has no place. And it is the hallmark of an atmosphere where borders on irresponsibility in many areas of our lives."

In his speeches and his own example, Rabin declared that the "friendly slap on the shoulder, that

wink, that "count on me" is a reflection of "a lack of discipline and an absence of professionalism, the presence of negligence, an atmosphere of covering up, which to my great sorrow is the legacy of many public bodies in Israel - not just the IDF. It is devouring us. And we have already learned the hard and painful way that "yihveh b'seder" means that very much is not b'seder."

Since the assassination, the importance of these words has only grown. A series of accidents in the military, including deaths from "friendly fire" in Lebanon, the helicopter collision, the failed commando raid, and many other such events are the price of the lack of professionalism and responsibility.

The civil sector is not immune from this disease, as illustrated in the Maccabiah bridge tragedy. But in most cases, the formal army investigation ends in a report that these accidents were the result of "bad luck" or "a random combination of circumstances." No one

resigns or is found to be responsible (except when the dead victims themselves are blamed, as was the case in a recent accident in which a soldier assigned to guard duty in the Jordan Valley was killed by a faulty missile that was left in the wrong place by someone else).

To honor Rabin's memory, it is not enough to light a candle, to lay a wreath, or wear a sticker for peace. His legacy should be much deeper, and encompasses the need for every public official, including the prime minister, the cabinet, the chief of general staff, and every other officer and civil servant to take personal responsibility and be guided by professional considerations and national interests, and not the quest for the next promotion or a higher salary. In the IDF and in the government, everything is far from b'seder.

The writer directs the Arms Control Project at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

## The toad that won't disappear

JONATHAN ROSENBLUM

These are the worst of times for all those concerned about Jewish continuity who cannot bring themselves to acknowledge that our survival as a people cannot be separated from our relationship with God. They prattle on without getting it: Judaism reduced to the vague ethnic pride of the Irish on St. Patrick's Day has no staying power.

Yet rather than reexamining their own empty houses, the continuity crowd would have us believe that the greatest menace to the Jewish people today is the religious, in particular the haredim.

All those seeking universal patterns in history - from Karl Marx to Arnold Toynbee - have hated the Jews for their stubborn perseverance in the face of theories that grant them no place. So too do secular Jews resent the Orthodox for being the only segment of world Jewry not threatened with imminent extinction.

Toynbee could not forgive the Jews, whom he described as an atavistic aberration, and neither will secular Jews forgive the religious their stubborn vitality. For by their presence, the religious give lie to the claim that it is impossible to be a religious Jew in the modern world.

Among the prophets of imminent doom for the Jewish people, Bernard Wasserstein is distinguished only by the particular viciousness of his hatred of the haredim. In his recent book, *Vanishing Diaspora*, Wasserstein portrays a European Jewry facing "slow diminution... to virtual extinction" over the next two or three generations. But this depressing scenario bothers him less than the haredim.

In a recent screed in this paper, the haredim are described as brazen, duplicitous, devious, violent, and corrupt. Their rabbinic authorities are "shadowy characters"; their learning is "intellectual mud" that "numbs the mind"; their claims to authenticity are "preposterous." They are characterized by "shameless filching from the public purse," "wheeling and dealing," and "hypocrisy."

For his coup de grace, Wasserstein offers a compassionate "understanding" of the disgusting behavior of haredim. They constitute a "savage society" led by their "primitive

fear" of modernity into "barbaric reactions." What proof does he offer that the haredim perceive themselves as besieged?

That private cars make it possible for secular Israelis to drive on Shabbat, despite the lack of public transportation, and videos make it possible for them to watch TV on Yom Kippur, even though Israel TV and radio are off the air.

True, haredim view the decision of their fellow Jews to drive

**Secular Jews resent the Orthodox for being the only segment of world Jewry not threatened with imminent extinction**

on Shabbat or to watch videos on Yom Kippur as a tragedy for them individually and for the Jewish people collectively. But their way of life is hardly threatened by those decisions.

LACKING Wasserstein's Oxford education, I am perhaps too ignorant to realize just how primitive my society is, but I do have a few questions for him.

On Shabbat, the typical haredi family gathers around the table, often for hours, three times. Each child is given the opportunity to display what he or she has learned that week, the family sings Shabbat *sevivim* together, and the discussion centers around the weekly Torah reading.

Why is a family joined in common activities more primitive than one in which members run off separately to the beach to pit their bodies against the depleted ozone layer?

Bookshelves and the Shabbat table are the finest pieces of furniture in the average haredi home. A normal haredi child reads one or two magazines every week and as many books after a long school day. And this reading is far from the pornography for teenagers produced by Israel's leading Hebrew newspapers.

The most common subject of

the haredi child's reading is, of course, biographies of the great *tzaddikim*, but the magazines are also full of scientific material and fiction. Are the volumes of Talmud proudly displayed in the haredi home less elevated than the gigantic color TV to which pride of place is given in secular homes? Is reading about spiritual giants less elevated than MTV?

According to a recent Ben-Gurion University study, haredim give four to seven times as much charity per capita as the average Israeli, even though their disposable income is much smaller because of their large family size.

They forgo what the rest of society views as necessities to give to those less fortunate than themselves. In addition, haredim are three times as likely to do volunteer work as their secular counterparts.

No doubt the haredi attitude to *tzedaka* appears antiquated to today's yuppies, for whom the goal of life is amassing material possessions and titillating the nerve ends. But is it self-evidently primitive or savage by comparison?

Primitive societies are often characterized by body-piercing and tattooing. Their religious rituals frequently involve the use of hallucinogenic drugs and provide sanction for unbridled hedonism. Are these traits more often found in Bnei Brak or north Tel Aviv?

The late literary critic Lionel Trilling detailed the transformation of the moral virtue of sincerity into the modern cult of authenticity. The modern notion glorifies the exploration of every aspect of one's multifaceted being, and demands acknowledgment that we are to a large extent just smarter animals motivated by the pursuit of physical pleasure. Does the celebration of the beast within represent progress and enlightenment?

In his conclusion, Wasserstein likens haredi society to the toad on the harrow which must be crushed by the tractor, even as we shed a tear for its fate. But what really inspires his vitriol is the recognition that the toad will be there long after the tractor has turned to rust.

The author is a Jerusalem Post columnist.

## How to convert the conversion crisis

IRVING GREENBERG

Orthodoxy is dramatized in this tragedy.

In the 1980s, there was a significant group of leading Orthodox rabbis who opposed the "Who is a Jew?" legislation. Some came (as I did) together with Conservative and Reform rabbis to lobby the Knesset. Others, like the late Rabbi Louis Bernstein, then-president of the Rabbinical Council of America (the largest modern Orthodox rabbinic organization in the world) came separately to point out that there

**The Orthodox failure to imagine pluralism as a constructive religious policy has led to outcomes the opposite of their intention**

was no gain in it for Orthodoxy. Ten years later, the RCA, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, etc. have worked hand in glove with the haredim. Not a dissenting peep was heard from the National Religious Party until after the Neeman proposals were savaged.

IN THE United States, the Conservative and Reform movements are used to being treated equally and democratically and not being snubbed politically. It is hurtful, bizarre, and outrageous that they suffer discriminatory or shabby treatment in Israel.

However, in their struggles, they have exploited the false impression that the very Jewishness of liberal Jews is being denied. They have misled the public by attributing their meager success in Israel to their "persecution" and disestablishment. While they are victimized and their anger is understandable, they have mostly failed to exercise restraint in fighting back. They have inflamed their constituency at its spiritual expense by alienating them from Israel, rather than from specific policies or the government.

Perhaps the most negative fallout has been in the feelings of non-affiliated Jews. They have been bombarded with the message that Israel considers them non-Jews and rejects them. The image that reli-

gious fanatics are in command has also lessened Israel's stature in American government circles. Since American support is a matter of life and death for Israel, the contesting parties are guilty of reckless endangerment of Jewish lives. There is no outcome of the denominational controversies that can justify this undermining of Israel's standing.

There is one consolation. An otherwise unstoppable bill has been held up by the force of the Israeli political leadership's genuine desire not to hurt Diaspora Jews' feelings. Thus, the unity of Jewry has shown real political weight. Jewish peoplehood (even without voting power) continues to show its unique capacity to transcend national boundaries.

This shining exception must be built on for the sake of the Jewish future.

The Chief Rabbinate and the haredim must be pressured relentlessly to accept compromise over the next three months. Ironically, nothing would do more to revitalize the Orthodox establishment than religious competition.

Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak must be pressured to resist the seduction of potential haredi support in return for a sellout on this issue. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Barak should jointly agree to remove this issue from the competition for a coalition.

Renewed efforts should be made by all Jews to restore classic moderate modern-Zionist Orthodoxy (say, of the Meimad type).

A program of systematic links and extended dialogue between Israeli and Diaspora leadership should be established to end mutual ignorance. Liberal Jews must undertake to use Israel as a focal point for education and for spiritual enrichment for their youth, as they have done so successfully for their rabbinate.

Finally, world Jewry should rebuild the relationship to Israel by a massive expansion of the number of people, young and old, who live and study in Israel. Let us stop asking "Who is a Jew?" and concentrate on "converting" all Jews to a vital Jewishness.

The writer, a rabbi, is president of Chaverim Kol Yisrael/Jewish Life Network, a Judy and Michael Steinhardt Foundation. He was the founding president of CIAL - the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership, which offers Jewish education for leaders and interdenominational dialogue and study.



# Sir Isaiah Berlin, 88

By DAVID LUNGGREN

LONDON (Reuters) - British philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin, one of the century's greatest thinkers, has died after a protracted illness, Oxford University said yesterday. He was 88.

An official at the university said Berlin, a prolific author and historian of political thought, had died on Wednesday night.

Family friends said he had been in and out of hospital since July. "We are very sad to lose such an eminent scholar, who made such an enormous contribution to philosophy and to the values for which we stand," said Dr. Colin Lucas, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

Berlin was best known for his writings on liberty, nationalism and socialism, including such works as *Four Essays on Liberty* and *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*.

One of Berlin's main contributions to philosophy was the idea of "value pluralism," the idea that human beings are so different that there can be no one overall set of human values.

He developed the idea in his essay "Two Concepts of Liberty," where he coined the idea of "negative" and "positive" liberty to make the distinction between liberal and repressive concepts of freedom.

Berlin, an avowed anti-Communist, said negative liberty was the freedom from enslavement by others while the idea of positive liberty could be used as the pretext for abuse.

"It is this - the 'positive' conception of liberty: not freedom from, but freedom to - which the adherents of the 'negative' notion represent as being, at times, no



British philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin

better than a specious disguise for brutal tyranny."

He said the work "really came from being maddened by all the Marxist cheating which went on, all the things that were said about 'true liberty', Stalinist and communist patter about 'true free-

dom."

Berlin, who was born in the Latvian capital Riga to Jewish parents in 1909 and moved to Britain in 1919 after witnessing the first months of the Russian revolution, was a key figure in the intellectual movement against communism during the Cold War.

"I was never pro-communist. Never... anyone who had, like me, seen the Russian revolution at work was not likely to be tempted," he told the British magazine *Prospect* in September.

"I realized that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant sheer despotism."

Berlin faded from fashion in the 1960s as other thinkers moved into the limelight but followers say his basic message never lost its relevance.

"He's not a political thinker so much as a moralist who insists on the irreconcilability of goods such as liberty or mercy - you can only have one at the expense of the other."

Every time you choose you lose," biographer Michael Ignatieff said earlier this year. "Isaiah's emphasis is on conflict, tragedy and loss - these are very much themes which have a salience now that they may not have had 25 years ago."

Berlin, who spent most of his academic career at Oxford, inherited his father's love of Russian literature, which inspired him to produce one of his most famous works, "The Hedgehog and the Fox."

In the essay, devoted to Russian author Lev Tolstoy, Berlin put forward the idea that there were two kinds of thinkers. "There exists a great chasm between those, on one side, who relate everything to a single central vision... and, on the other side, those who pursue many ends, often unrelated and even contradictory," he said.

"The first kind of intellectual belongs to the hedgehogs, the second to the foxes."

## This turbulent beast

History

So, Saddam has come back to haunt us again. Bill Clinton threatens to put him "back in his box" - an interesting choice of metaphor, which evokes a coffin in the vaults of Castle Dracula. Will no one put a stake in this chest? "Who will free me from this turbulent priest?" said Henry II, sealing the fate of Thomas Becket. Who will free us from this turbulent beast in Baghdad?

In October 1985, while we reporters covered as much of the *Achille Lauro* ship hijack-

ing as we could from Cyprus, my office in central Nicosia was visited for no more than two minutes by a source from the Israeli Embassy. He exchanged some new comments on the hijacking in return for my copy of a statement delivered earlier by a minion of Abul Abbas (the hijack organizer).

This was a normal open routine of dealing with opposite sources on a major story, forgotten minutes later as events moved on.

Three months later a colleague of mine (now somewhere in Central America) was assigned to Baghdad for a story. I suggested he try to get an interview with the elusive Abul Abbas, who had himself been hijacked by the US Air Force and then ferried to freedom by the Italians and Yugoslavs.

Saddam, the true scope of this man's evil character is still not fully understood. It may never be - unless the international community fails to contain it. He is a man of no redeeming qualities, not a demonized figure, but a Satanic one. No sycophant has ever reported that he has some personal charm, as many grudgingly did of Hitler on a good day. We can still remember with a shudder the eerie image of Saddam stroking the cheek of a British child hostage just before the Gulf war - an attempt to show humanity that backfired badly. He might as well have hissed too.

Column One

Column One



Thomas O'Dwyer

Hamster mash

My journalist friend was

haunted by Saddam Hussein's *muhabarar* (secret police) and, politely, but firmly interrogated. A central theme of the questioning soon emerged: Why had an Israeli visited the news agency office in Nicosia during the *Achille Lauro* affair? How often did such visits happen? How come the Israeli had turned up immediately after the Palestinian representative?

It was once of those small anecdotes of daily reporting in the Middle East, but it increased our awe of Saddam's long arm of intelligence. At that time, nearing the last battles of the Iran-Iraq War, the West (meaning Washington) was pro-Iraq and Saddam was basking in this glory and taking full advantage of it.

But reporters in the Gulf would rather sell their grandmothers than be sent on assignment to Baghdad. Almost anywhere else was fine. Iran was fine - Teheran sometimes expelled journalists for reporting the sites of Scud missile strikes. But Saddam hated them - as he later did a British journalist who visited a nuclear site. Saddam's Iraq was a dark and Orwellian place.

The low-level *muhabarar* - known to the media as "the hamsters" - were legendary both for their stupidity and menace, a particularly frightening combination.

Just a little bang

The trouble is we have all been saying the same thing all the time, to the point of accepting Saddam as a mere recurring irritant - like a winter cold. Reading all the dispatches on Iraq now crumpling the world's serious newspapers, it is impossible to find a new insight into why Saddam is again confronting the UN, or how he has still got dangerous weapons of mass destruction after seven years of dismantling them.

It is easy to pile up the adjectives around Saddam's bunker - evil, cruel, murderous, genocidal, paranoid, illogical, deranged - see *Roger's Thesaurus*. But is he still really - really - dangerous? Look at it this way. If the Middle East is that old cliché, the world's powder keg, then Saddam is no more dangerous than a teeny-weeny, itty-bitty little detonator.

It makes one wonder why the Mossad is bumbling around Amman, upsetting our only Arab friends, and making the country a laughingstock over some small-try terrorist. Doesn't it have something better to do? It brings Henry II to mind again, still railing against poor harmless Becket: "What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house, that not one of them will avenge me of this upstart!"

Where to stay

## Spain-Portugal storm kills 32

BADAJOS, Spain (Reuters) - Violent autumn storms wrought havoc across southern Spain and Portugal overnight, killing at least 32 people, smashing homes and destroying crops.

The known dead numbered 21 in Spain and 11 in Portugal after the heaviest rains in memory hit the south-west corner of the Iberian peninsula on Wednesday night, causing rivers to overflow and sending mud spilling through towns and villages.

But officials said the toll could rise, with at least six people still unaccounted for. There were no reports of foreigners among the victims.

"It was a night of madness, a nightmare. There was water everywhere," Manuel Afonso, a resident of the village of Saboia in southern Portugal, told TSF radio. "Nobody can remember anything like it," he said.

Portugal's Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, who spent most of the night in the civil

defense headquarters, traveled yesterday to the provinces of the Alentejo and the Algarve, a popular tourist area, to inspect the damage.

"I want to express my condolences to the families of the victims. The storms exceeded all expectations," he said.

In one of the most harrowing cases, a 16-day-old baby boy died after being wrenched from the arms of his father by flood waters in the southern Portuguese village of Carregueiro.

In Badajoz, some 400 kilometers west of Madrid, victims drowned in their homes as streams and rivers broke their banks.

Anxious neighbors gathered around as the bodies of the victims were carried away.

"Nobody expected this," said 33-year-old shopkeeper Jorge Regalado Galindo as he looked in despair at his flooded shop near the city's river Rivillas.

"I am ruined. Look at it, my store is destroyed," he said.

here the whole season," a store spokeswoman told the Post. "But it's not something we're doing this year. I can't really say why."

She added that a final decision on Santa's fate was pending.

The newspaper cited the decision by Bloomingdale's and Toys 'R' Us to scrap images of the jolly

Weather officials said overnight rainfall in the city reached an awesome 15 cm.

"It was an impossible amount of water for them to control," one resident told Spanish television.

Rescue teams scoured hard-hit areas along the nearby river Guadiana, which forms the border with Portugal, searching for those missing after days of rain turned into a downpour. Dozens of people were trapped by the flash-floods, and roads were up to three meters deep in some places in the Spanish province.

Among the victims in Portugal was an elderly couple drowned when their house flooded in the district of Ourique, 200 km. south of Lisbon.

In Spain, winds of up to 100 kph swept across the provinces of Extremadura and Andalusia, and major highways were blocked by falling trees and power lines.

In the province of Castile-La Mancha a building collapsed, although nobody was injured.

## Santa gets the sack

NEW YORK (AP) - Bloomingdale's - the world-famous upscale retailer - may lose some of its Christmas spirit for area children this holiday season.

The store chain plans to give Santa the sack, the *New York Post* reported yesterday.

"Usually we have a Santa Claus

old gift-giver as part of a trend, following the lead of the A-and-S department store in Brooklyn.

The Toys 'R' Us store is replacing Santa with a toy registry for children, the *Post* said. Instead of dropping off "Dear Santa" letters at stores, kids will use hand-held scanners to register for toys.

where the whole season," a store spokeswoman told the Post. "But it's not something we're doing this year. I can't really say why."

She added that a final decision on Santa's fate was pending.

The newspaper cited the decision by Bloomingdale's and Toys 'R' Us to scrap images of the jolly

The Ludwig and Erica Jesselson Institute for Advanced Torah Studies and the Midrasa for Women extend sincere condolences to their dear friend and benefactor Mrs. Erica Jesselson on the loss of her brother

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May your blessed work on behalf of the strengthening of Torah and science through the Institute for Advanced Torah Studies and the Midrasa for Women be a comfort to you at this hour.

The Executive Committee  
The Institute Rabbis and Students  
The Midrasa Teachers and Students

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a friend and partner, and extends condolences to the family

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Deeply mourns the passing of

**BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD**

A devoted friend of the University, and extends condolences to the family

Prof. Avishay Braverman President

Rebbe ANNA STOTLAND 77

will take place on Sunday, November 9 (9 Kislev) at 2 p.m., at Har Hamenuhot - Har Talmid, Section 31 (R-7)

Family: Shimon & Lisa Rubin, Herta Peal and David Torgheim, Jerusalem

We shall assemble at Tzur Monuments at 1:50 p.m.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

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A memorial service and gathering will take place at the Swedish Theological Institute, Beth Tabor, 58 Rehov Hanavi'im, on Sunday, November 16 at 6 p.m.

The Jerusalem Foundation extends its deepest sympathies to Lady Aline Berlin and the family on the passing of

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a distinguished member of our Councils and a dedicated contributor to the welfare and advancement of the Jewish people

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of Britain

Honorary Governor and Honorary Ph.D. of the University, Chairman of the International Advisory Board of the Jewish National and University Library

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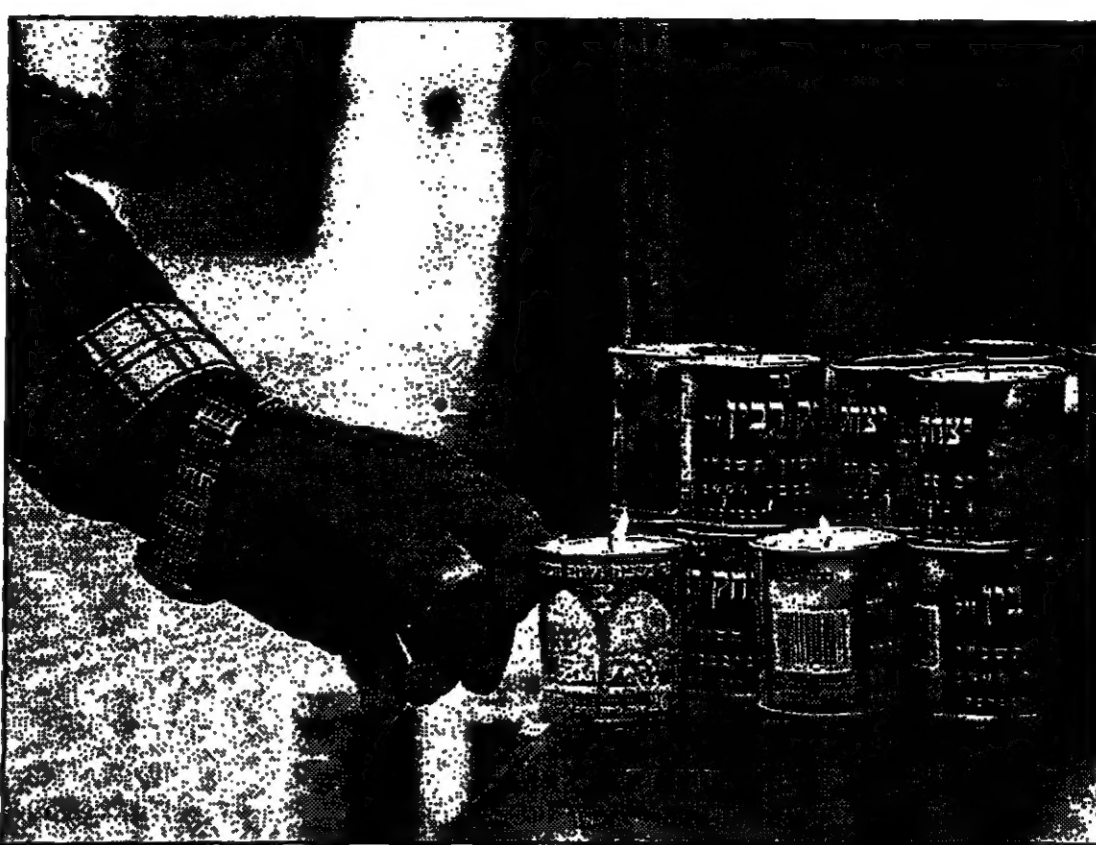
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מזמן לא היה



# A look beyond fanaticism

Beneath the tumult, anger and strident public debate, Abraham Rabinovich finds national religious rabbis grappling with the lessons of Rabin's assassination



How to mourn Rabin? On the Right, conspiracy theories are gaining ground; on the Left, grief has given way to political opportunism.

Like a compressed spring losing its tension, the national trauma that gripped the nation in the wake of the assassination two years ago is beginning to unwind.

On the Right, the shocked silence that marked the nationalist camp in the wake of the murder is giving way on the edges to conspiracy theories that mitigate and deny guilt, and to defiant protests by callers on radio talk shows against the "carnival" of the Rabin mourning. A poll published last week showed many in the nationalist camp justifying the assassination.

On the Left, grief has given way to a bemoaning tone and a scent of political opportunism. The "We shall not forget - we shall not forgive" placards and the linking of the murder of Rabin to the murder of the Oslo peace process imply a monopoly on grief and a willingness to forgive the Right only if it abandons its legitimate political aspirations.

With Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu unable to utter words that heal - and bereft of the credibility to be believed if he did - the nation drifts downstream from that watershed night two years ago in Kikar Malchei Yisrael without a rudder, cracked down the middle and with no idea of what lies beyond the next bend.

Any glimmer of optimism would in the circumstances be rash but conversations this week with several hesder yeshiva leaders suggest that that fountainhead of national religious ideology has not remained unmoved by the assassination. If this is so, it is no small thing.

"I have no explanation for the murder," said Rabbi Avraham Brun, secretary general of the Hesder Yeshiva Association which embraces 88 yeshivot and 5,000 students. "If Yigal Amir were crazy this would solve a lot of problems for us. But he wasn't crazy. His move was calculated. I would give a lot to understand his motives." (Hesder yeshivot, unlike other yeshivot, combine study with military service.)

Since the murder, said Brun, the hesder yeshivot have made a

point of stressing to the students what had previously been assumed to be understood - that instances meriting capital punishment cited in the Torah were not relevant today and that capital punishment even in antiquity was carried out very rarely and only after a complicated legal procedure.

"This should have been obvious," said Brun. "Now we are emphasizing it. Just as the laws of temple sacrifices are not relevant today even though we study them, so also with the laws of capital punishment."

Amir claimed to have carried out capital punishment called for by Jewish law. He said that this judgment had been confirmed before the assassination by rabbis whom he declined to name. Brun said that the yeshivot were also making efforts to shore up the students' morale and their national-religious beliefs in the wake of the assassination.

"We have to strengthen belief about our rights to Eretz Yisrael and in divinely inspired Torah. Something terrible happened, and it came from our camp. This might lead some to doubt our way, to believe that it leads to murder, to believe that hesder yeshivot should be closed. We say 'believe in our system. It is an asset to the Jewish people as a whole and to Eretz Yisrael.'"

"Far from being a divisive factor," he said, "the hesder yeshivot were the only body in the religious camp that actively meshed with the secular population. We do this in the army where you have the only intensive contact between religious and secular. We sleep in the same tents. The yeshivot made great efforts after the assassination to urge the students and their parents to exercise restraint in their contacts with secular soldiers in the army, to avoid provocation and not to refuse any orders. And thank God there have been no incidents."

Brun expressed regret that political leaders have not been able to rise above party interests following the assassination. Both sides are still trying to use this terrible act for political profit. I console

myself with the belief that this split is artificial and that the great majority of the population does not blame the other side or is repelled by it. Differences of opinion are legitimate and they will continue, but the tone will be determined by the ability of the political leadership to exercise restraint.

Rabbi Nachman Rabinovich of the Birkat Moshe Yeshiva in Ma'aleh Adumim had been

accused of inciting against the Rabin government, of advising his students to refuse to obey orders to evacuate settlements during their army service, and even of recommending that settlements be ringed with mines to keep the army at bay - a charge he vigorously denies. Interviewed this week, he said that Amir's act had been unconnected with anything taught in the yeshivot. "I don't understand

the working of a criminal mind. I'm sure there was pathology involved."

In his lectures to students before the assassination, said Rabinovich, he had warned against the dangers of violence. He had at the same time presented his thoughts about not relinquishing Judea and Samaria. "One must distinguish very clearly between the need to warn against violence and the need to

state clearly and unambiguously what our moral positions are." In retrospect, said Rabinovich, he felt that "to speak up clearly can sometimes lead to misconceptions. One has to try to see as much as possible what can possibly be misconstrued. But there is no end to that."

What lessons are to be drawn from the assassination? "I think there is an awareness now that it is important to make clear that violence is not the Jewish way, neither in speech nor in action," said Rabinovich. "It may be that prior to the assassination people assumed it was self-evident and didn't speak out clearly or frequently about it. Now we do. Whenever the occasion presents itself we take great pains to emphasize that violence is not the Jewish way."

On the anniversary of the assassination next week according to the Hebrew calendar, Yeshivat Birkat Moshe like many others will mark the occasion with study of the Mishna and special prayers. "Murder was always seen as almost impossible in a Jewish society," said Rabinovich. "The tragedy that happened must concern us very deeply."

Left-wing rabbis in Judea and Samaria, a small minority, do not believe that the national-religious camp has yet purged itself of the possibility of murder in God's name. "There has been some soul searching and a genuine attempt to see that this cannot occur again," says Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein of the Har Etzion Yeshiva in Gush Etzion. "But if you ask me whether it might happen again, whether some deviant might take matters into his own hands if he feels driven by divine command, I would have to say yes. In some yeshivot there is probably more sensitivity on this matter but in the broader national religious community there is room for greater sensitivity."

Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun of Ofra was surprised last Friday to find the essay he had written on the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin for the newspaper *Hatzofeh* consigned to the bottom of page 3.

One of the foremost voices of moderation among West Bank settlers, Bin-Nun's eloquent calls in the immediate wake of the assassination for soul searching in the nationalist camp had been one of the balms that helped the nation through the initial period of trauma. Instead of featuring his thoughtful article last week at the top of the page, the National Religious Party organ chose to display there an article raising the possibility of Shin Bet complicity in the murder.

In his article Bin-Nun said that internal debate has always marked Jewish history. The alternative to free debate in a Jewish society, where every individual and group has divergent opinions, was civil war and destruction of the country, he wrote.

Amir "shot us all in the back" and was a greater danger to Israel's existence than Arab enemies or antisemites, said Bin-Nun. "He symbolizes the civil strife that destroyed the First and Second Temples." An entire section of the Shin Bet was now assigned to protecting the prime minister of Israel from Jewish assassins, said Bin-Nun. "As long as a Jewish prime minister has to wear an armored vest under his shirt there can be no boldness in Eretz Yisrael." It was incumbent on the national camp to purge itself of its infection, said Bin-Nun. "What are we waiting for? For the realization that the Left also has 'lone crazies'? For the bitter day when the target might be not only a political leader but a spiritual leader?"

Fanaticism has not disappeared from the Israeli scene, witness some of the public debate this week. Madness in religious or political form doubtless continues to lurk in dark corners. But the sensitivity expressed by yeshiva leaders this week seemed more genuine and meaningful than the point scoring being indulged in by politicians. Beneath the tumult and anger, the crucial lessons of the assassination are being internalized, it would seem, in some of the places where they most need to be.

## Where to stay in Israel

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(Ruthie)



# Bursting the 'Champagne' bubble

What role did GSS informant Avishai Raviv play in the anti-Rabin incitement campaign? Unanswered questions are feeding wild conspiracy theories, writes Liat Collins.

It's hard to kill a conspiracy theory. This week, thanks to a story in *Hatzofeh*, rumors were revived of a left-wing political plot behind the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin.

The newspaper printed an article last Friday under the headline: "Uri Barkan's Incredible Conspiracy Theory" which claimed that Shimon Peres had authorized the murder.

Barkan's theory, published on the Internet, is that Rabin had been aware of a plan by Yigal Amir to kill him and authorized the General Security Service to allow the plot to go ahead, but make sure that the bullets were changed to blanks.

A senior GSS officer, according to Barkan, suggested to Peres that the bullets be changed back to live ones. In return, the GSS officer would be appointed as head of the security service.

This theory, as the other conspiracy theories surrounding the assassination, raises questions about the role of Avishai Raviv, who headed several right-wing groups and apparently worked in some capacity for the GSS at the time of the assassination.

Many right- and left-wingers alike reject the theory published by *Hatzofeh*, a National Religious Party newspaper, as well as other conspiracy theories floated since the assassination. Yet many still feel there is a need to answer some outstanding questions about whether Raviv played a role in the tragedy, and if so, whether he should be prosecuted.

One unresolved question is a report at the time that as Rabin was being shot, someone was heard shouting that they were blanks. Some reporters also received a curious beeper message when the attack occurred, claiming "we failed this time." The sign-off suggested that the message was flashed by the right-wing group Eyal, an acronym for Jewish National Organization, which Raviv is said to have founded.

RAVIV, whose GSS codename was "Champagne," has been accused of involvement in the incitement that preceded the assassination and of being a close companion of assassin Yigal Amir.

There are even reports that Raviv identified Amir as a suspect before the news media did, on the night of the assassination.

While Amir has said that he acted on his own, questions about whether Raviv played any role have not been put to rest, particularly since a key part of the Shamgar Commission Report into the assassination was never published.

Deputy Defense Minister Silvan Shalom rejected the conspiracy theory during a Knesset debate this week. But he said Netanyahu had set up a team to look into the possibility of publishing at least a part of the secret portion of the Shamgar Report.

Officials hope that the secret section could reveal whether Raviv or the GSS was indeed privy to the plot beforehand, or answer key questions surrounding Raviv's alleged role in the assassination, or whether he was even being used to stage an attack that was supposed to be aborted. Shalom also said that Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein was also considering requests to investigate Raviv, who has apparently never been formally questioned about the assassination.

Under Rabin's leadership, the Eyal movement took over from Kach, which was outlawed in the wake of Baruch Goldstein's massacre of Palestinians in Hebron in 1994.

Eyal once invited reporters to watch a "training camp" program for young radicals, and an eerie graveside swearing-in ceremony for members. Although Raviv was involved as a teenager with Kach, it is unclear whether he founded Eyal in the early 1990s for purely ideological reasons or as a cover for helping the GSS to ferret out extreme right-wingers.

Raviv has also been said to have made sure that television cameras photographed an infamous poster of Rabin depicted in an SS uniform at demonstration held in Jerusalem's Zion Square, an event denounced as the height of incitement against the late premier.

MK Benny Elon (Moledet) does not believe in the many conspiracy theories which have grown up around the assassination. But he does believe that Raviv should be investigated.

"All that Raviv did - as an informant who turned into an agent provocateur - must be exposed," he says. "Only then can the conspiracy theories - for which I have no evidence - be put to rest," Elon says.

In the year after the assassination of Rabin, the Eyal group had claimed responsibility for a fatal attack on an Arab store owner in Hahoul a few years ago. Later it turned out the man was killed by a Palestinian during a robbery.

"It is shocking that Raviv is free to wander among us despite the reasons to suspect he was responsible for more threats, acts of violence and incitement of a political nature than any other person in the history of the state," alleges Eitan. "There is also good reason to suspect he systematically incited for the murder of Rabin."

**Former GSS head Ya'acov Perry says that the Shamgar Commission rejected GSS involvement in the assassination. Perry described the conspiracy theories as 'madness and a blood libel. That intelligent people can believe them, I find scary.'**

The GSS to blacken the name of the whole 'nationalist camp,' who does he work for now and why is he allowed to continue to be free despite the evidence of his role as an agent provocateur?" Elon asks.

"Should the allegations prove correct, then the GSS has acted in a manner contrary to acceptable democratic norms as a direct result of Raviv's activities," he adds.

Even if it were found that Raviv had nothing to do with the assassination, his actions definitely did affect the image of the entire right wing, Elon says.

Science Minister Michael Eitan also wants Raviv questioned. He claims he has gathered material which he believes the Shamgar Commission did not see.

Last year Eitan submitted to the State Attorney's Office a sworn statement by Raviv's No. 2 in Eyal, Benny Aharoni, who testified that Raviv had told followers that "Rabin should be made to disappear even at the cost of sui-

cide." Aharoni also accused Raviv of leading anti-Arab attacks.

The Eyal group had claimed responsibility for a fatal attack on an Arab store owner in Hahoul a few years ago. Later it turned out the man was killed by a Palestinian during a robbery.

"I suggest investigating 'Champagne' and checking that such a thing can't happen again," said Kahalani.

Neeman was strongly attacked this week by Labor MKs who accused him of supporting the conspiracy theory after he called for a probe of *Hatzofeh's* allegations.

"I don't deal with such theories but 58 questions were raised in the article and I think that the person in charge should consider the questions," Neeman said. He denied that his statement meant that he agreed with the article.

Neeman also apologized to Peres for any possible offense.

Peres and Labor leader Ehud Barak denounced the *Hatzofeh* theory as "a blood libel." Education Minister Zevulun Hammer of the NRP also distanced himself from the report.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ridiculed it as "rubbish." He added, speaking on the second anniversary of Rabin's slaying: "There was never any such thing. Elements on the Left and Right are trying to foment trouble instead of uniting the nation on this day."

Uzi Landau (Likud), chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, rejected the conspiracy theory as "not even worth thinking about." But Landau agreed that Raviv's role should be looked into.

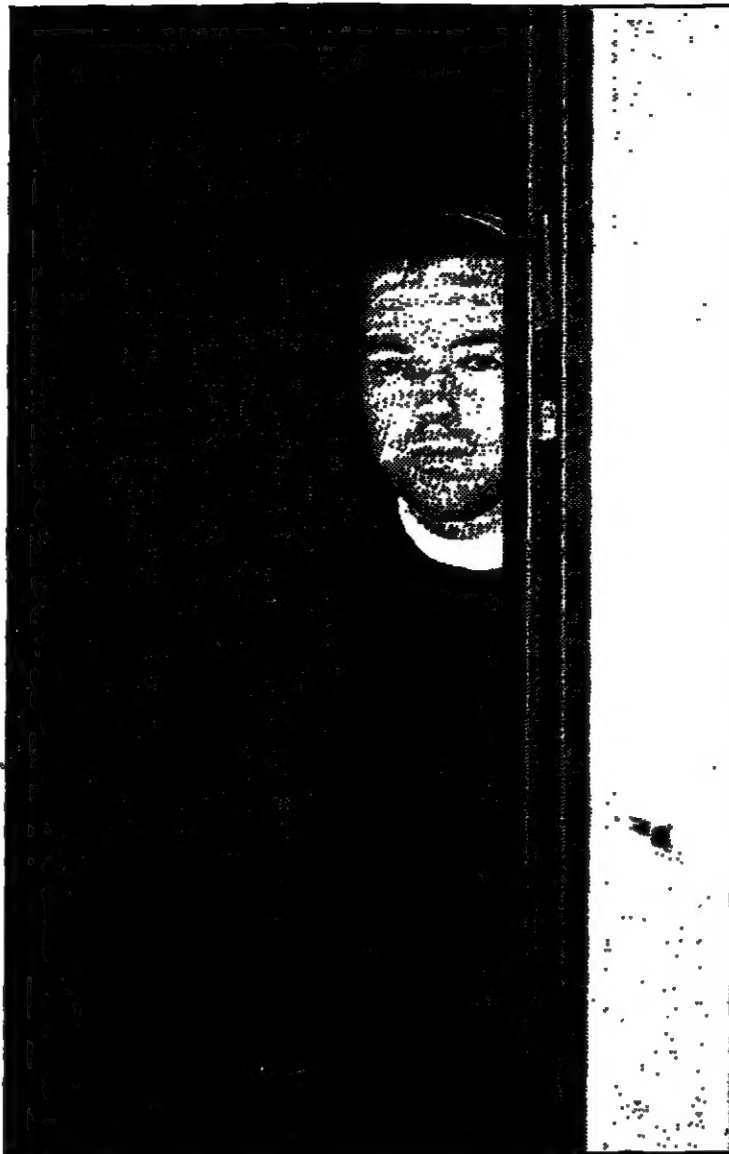
Likud MK Gideon Ezra, a former deputy head of the GSS, calls the conspiracy theory "non-

sense," asserting that the GSS is a professional, not a political body. But he also concedes there are question marks concerning Raviv. While intelligence groups must have informers to expose dangerous organizations, "it is completely forbidden for the GSS and its agents to incite extreme actions among the bodies which they are checking," Ezra says.

Ezra acknowledges there is a risk of a boomerang in using informers, but suggests that this can be handled through proper supervision.

TODAY Raviv, 30, apparently feels persecuted by both right- and left-wingers, and is said to trust only other GSS agents. He has resumed a secular lifestyle, spending much time at his parents' home in Holon. He also shares a Tel Aviv apartment.

One of those who has tried to



Open the door on the Raviv case, demand a growing number of MKs. (Yehuda Miller)

follow Raviv's trail is Adir Zik, who broadcasts requests for information on Raviv on his Arutz 7 radio program.

In the last two years Zik has had sightings of Raviv at dozens of events and places. Recent information indicates that he lives in the Afeka neighborhood, drives a light blue Grand Leone and works out several times a week at Beit Haloehem. There are also unsubstantiated reports that Raviv continues to be paid a monthly salary of some NIS 9,300. Zik has suggested that the money may be coming from the GSS.

Raviv - according to a profile done last week by *Yediot Aharonot* and interviewer Yaron Svoray - says Amir acted alone, mainly out of a desire to prove himself to women like Margalit Har-Shefi.

Unlike Amir, who was unknown until the murder, Raviv

was known to have sought media attention. He was also detained - and released - several times before the assassination.

Militants involved in his groups, such as Aharoni, say they began to grow suspicious of him after noticing that the authorities always seemed to be present at his provocations. They noticed that Raviv more often than not was allowed to walk away.

Raviv's initial mission appears to have been to flush out extremists in Kiryat Arba in the aftermath of the Goldstein massacre.

ELON was the first person to expose Raviv as operating for the GSS. He says he gathered evidence and material which he initially intended to save for the Shamgar Commission. But he decided to break the news on the radio after learning that Raviv seemed to be "working overtime" for the GSS in the detention cells where he was trying to encourage others to speak and was planting fictitious evidence.

Elon also charges that stung by the blow of the assassination, the GSS sought out a huge "underground" of settlers and Bar-Ilan University students.

Elon says Raviv was meant to become a state witness at the trials of Amir and other extremists. He was to have used recordings of conversations held in detention rooms and written statements.

When Elon learned of this plan, he decided to torpedo it. To avoid censorship, he revealed the information over Army Radio in an interview on November 16, 1995.

Aliza Goren, a spokeswoman for Peres as Rabin's successor, denied the report. Police Chief Asaf Hefetz would neither deny nor confirm it in an interview with Channel 1 that evening. Nor did Hefetz comment on allegations that Raviv was trying to plant fictitious evidence.

The next night, journalist Amnon Abramovich revealed Raviv's GSS codename, "Champagne," on Channel 1.

"If Raviv had not been exposed that Thursday many youngsters to this day could have been sitting in prison without reason and a very large sector of the population would have been blamed for the murder of the prime minister," Elon asserts. "Since all the material Raviv would have given would have been classified, nothing would ever have been prov-

able." Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein called this week for an end to the talk of conspiracy theories saying the Shamgar Commission had thoroughly looked into them and found them unfounded.

He said the government should carefully consider which part of the commission's classified report to publish. He said it is in the public interest to reveal certain sections, but not those which could reveal GSS work methods. Rubinstein has also promised to decide "soon" about whether to prosecute Raviv.

Former GSS head Ya'acov Perry says that the Shamgar Commission rejected GSS involvement in the assassination. Perry described the conspiracy theories as "madness and a blood libel. That intelligent people can believe them, I find scary."

Perry also maintains that the

**'All that Raviv did - as an informant who turned into an agent provocateur - must be exposed,' Benny Elon says. 'Only then can the conspiracy theories - for which I have no evidence - be put to rest.'**

media is making too much of Raviv. "What is being attributed to this little man is a gross exaggeration stemming from motives which I don't want to go into," Perry says.

But this "Champagne" is unlikely to lose its fizz for a while. MKs this week from both opposition and coalition benches raised the issue in the Knesset plenum. They voted to hold a further full debate on the subject.

"There are still many aspects relating to Raviv which must be investigated," Elon says.

Even Rabin's daughter, Dalia Rabin-Pelosoff, told reporters: "I too am still left with a number of question marks."

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Monday

Dec. 8

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Monday

Dec. 15

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**Setting fire to Rabin's image at a right-wing demonstration in April, 1994.**



(Brian Hendler)

**Bibi leads to war, claims a Peace Now poster.**

(Poster Initiated and designed by David Tartakover)

# Using and abusing the ‘I’ word

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to celebrate the assassination. Meanwhile, fighting groups spread the word, claiming that activities commemorating the assassination bordered on incitement against them.

**THE WAY the courts interpret**

"Incitement has become a buzzword for any attacks on the other side which are considered illegitimate," says Prof. Gad Wolfeld, chairman of the Hebrew University Communications Committee. "Both sides use it to a tremendous extent to undermine the other's position."

Exacerbated by the anniversary this week of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, charges of incitement have been flying furiously, with nearly everyone getting into the act, from Sara Netanyahu to sponsors of large newspaper ads. But in the post-Rabin-assassination era, the interpretation of just what incitement is has become an increasingly dicey, often political issue, leaving many wondering whether we've really learned anything since Yigal Amir pulled the trigger.

Those questions were raised again this week after a Kfar Sava Magistrate's Court judge acquitted David Axelrod, a resident of Kfar Tapuah in Samaria, who expressed joy over the assassination the day after it occurred.

Penal Law, regulations regarding incitement came from the British Criminal Ordinance that had pre-

Amber was acquitted of incitement charges when the judge found that even though his statements were grave, the reporter had asked him "provocative" questions and he did not know the answers would be broadcast.

A second David Axelrod, this one an American and also from Kfar Tapuah, faced similar charges this week for saying that he and his friends had had a drink

Meanwhile, right-wing groups spent most of the week claiming that activities commemorating the assassination bordered on incitement against them.

**THE WAY** the courts interpret incitement has changed over the years, according to Tel Aviv University Law School Prof. Ze'ev Segal, who is also legal analyst for the daily *Ha'aretz*. "The definition of incitement initially was very wide," says Segal. Now part of the 1977

**'Before the Rabin assassination, we felt we were immune,' says legal commentator Ze'ev Segal. "Now the legal circles feel you cannot be so indifferent to speech, because we saw that speech can kill.'**

Penal Law, regulations regarding incitement came from the British Criminal Ordinance that had prevailed since 1936. They covered anything published "which might raise some inconvenience in public circles, or will promote putting the administration or government in a bad light," Segal explains. Such a definition would likely have put many people in jail today.

Section 144B of the Penal Law now prescribes five years' imprisonment for "incitement to racism,"

One person's political view is another person's incitement. Is there any way to define the much-abused "I" word? **Aryeh Dean Cohen** reports

and there are also general provisions relating to inciting the commission of various crimes. However, according to legal expert Asher Felix Landau, "The elements of the offense are not always clear, and opinions may differ widely on whether, for example, there was incitement or a 'near certainty' of danger to public order."

Segal says the charge has now been more narrowly defined as "the publication of anything which might promote violence or murder."

Two landmark Supreme Court decisions have also affected interpretations. The first, in September 1996, related to the case of Rabbi Elie Elba of Kiryat Arba, convicted of incitement to racism in April 1995, who had written that the biblical admonition "Thou shalt not murder" did not refer to Gentiles, and therefore it was permissible to kill Arabs. Elba's remarks were made in a pamphlet circulated in April 1994, only weeks after the Machpelah Cave

massacre by Baruch Goldstein.

In the Elba ruling, "the Supreme Court, in a 5-2 landmark decision, said that when you talk about the value of human life, then this prevails over freedom of expression," Segal explains. "They said that in this particular case, when you utter such words, the prosecution does not have to prove to the court that those words constituted a near certainty [that the words would encourage violence].... The offense is composed of the mere fact that you said those words, words of the sort that

Supreme Court President Aharon Barak, one of the dissenters, argued that you can only convict someone if his words create a near certainty that following his words violence might occur.

In October 1996, the court heard the appeal of Mohammed Jabarin, an Arab journalist who had published articles during the intifada encouraging people to throw firebombs. Two lower courts had convicted him of incitement, and the Supreme Court upheld the conviction, ruling that such words constitute incitement to violence, regardless of whether they actually caused or intended to cause such violence.

However, Segal notes, the court agreed to rehear the case before an expanded panel of justices, "because the problem of striking the right balance between freedom of expression and incitement is really tough, and very acute." The case is still pending.

Segal says he personally agreed with Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, who said in August that the law should only be applied when the publication constitutes a targeting of a certain person, when you are preaching to kill somebody specific or a certain group, or when the words are very severe. Everybody felt that you don't have to rush to court over any utterance." Nonetheless, "It is in the now the law of the land that if the publication of the words is of the sort that might promote violence

... which targets people or the public at large, then this is covered by the law, although it is still under discussion," Segal says.

**BEFORE THE** Rabin assassination, it was rare for such cases to be prosecuted, says Segal, who states he is politically unaffiliated. "These [Supreme Court and other court] decisions are influenced by the murder of Rabin," he says. "I believe the judges who live in this country are influenced by what is happening."

"The change now is in the calculation of risk," he continues. "Before the Rabin assassination, we felt we were immune. Okay, somebody said something - we supported freedom of expression as very important, so we would do nothing about it.

"Now the calculation of risk has changed, because we have witnessed a political murder, part of which was an outcome of direct and indirect incitement. So now the legal circles feel you cannot be so indifferent to speech, because

"I believe in freedom of speech with almost no limits, almost, but when it comes to freedom of speech vis-à-vis the value of human life, you can't be so tolerant, and the right to life prevails."

**DEFINING INCITEMENT**, how-

"The word incitement itself is an interesting one," says Wolfsfeld.

"It usually refers of course to outside incitement, suggesting a picture of some passive citizen or group sitting around, minding its own business when suddenly they hear a speech or statement, and get up and say: 'OK, I have to kill somebody.'"

"It's usually used as a way of saying 'Oh well, the person has no real political goals or thinking, he or she are just a crazy person or a mob being manipulated by some devious leader.'" Wolfstfeld says Israel used this approach when it accused the PLO of inciting

**'The borderline between the most serious [political] criticism and incitement is the call for action,' says Yariv Ben-Eliezer. 'In incitement, there is a call for action against the prime minister or the government or an MK, and it is associated with death.'**

**Palestinians during the intifada.**  
 "What's interesting about all this, though, is that there is no really good evidence that Yigal Amir acted out of incitement. He was, if anything, a rather cool

...rational, intelligent individual who decided that the best way to achieve his political goals was to kill the prime minister. He didn't look like the kind of person we just described. But that doesn't matter, because the whole idea that incitement killed the prime minister has become part of our collective memory."

**JUST WHERE** does the border lie between incitement and strong political language in Israel's highly charged political landscape?

"The borderline between the most serious [political] criticism and incitement is the call for action," says Yariv Ben-Eliezer of the School of Communications-College of Management, Tel Aviv.

Ben-Eliezer, who helped run the unsuccessful Labor campaign in the last election and the successful Tsomet campaign in 1992, says that "in incitement, there is a call for action against the prime minister or the government or an MK, and it is associated with death."

While protesting that Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is a "tragedy for the nation" is legitimate, "if there's a call saying Bibi should be terminated, or an association in images between Bibi and say Hitler, if Bibi equals Hitler, it's obvious you should kill Amalek - then it's incitement.

"In the case of Rabin," says Ben-Eliezer, "it was legitimate to demonstrate against his desire to go according to Oslo. What was not was the slogan 'With blood and fire we will chase out Rabin.' What does 'with blood and fire' mean? This is a very implicit statement saying he should be terminated."

**See INCITEMENT, Page 18**

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# Labor's loyal hawk

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu should not participate in memorials for Yitzhak Rabin, Labor MK Ephraim Sneh tells Jay Bushinsky

Labor MK Ephraim Sneh's loyalty to his wartime military commander and peace-time political mentor, the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, is as fierce as it is eloquent. It also is coupled with unabating anger against the man he accuses of sowing the seeds of national discord that led to Rabin's assassination two years ago: Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu.

"We cannot ignore his personal role in the instigation against Rabin prior to the assassination," Sneh said, in discussing his opposition to Netanyahu's placing a wreath on Rabin's grave and speaking at the Knesset's planned special memorial session next week.

"You must understand us," he said. "This is not a partisan issue. I think it is hypocrisy for him to mourn Rabin. Netanyahu gained the premiership through a legal procedure, but this legal procedure came after the most illegal deed, the assassination."

Sneh, in an interview following his meeting with the *Jerusalem Post* editorial board this week, went on to reject the notion that Rabin was willing to give up the

Golan Heights as a baseless distortion of historical fact. By way of refutation, he cited a crucial discussion in which the Golan issue was raised by visiting secretary of state Warren Christopher.

He said Rabin asked Christopher a hypothetical question whose wording he approximated: "Let's say we are ready to give them all of the Golan, will they meet all of our security demands?"

Sneh charged that Christopher broke Rabin's confidence and conveyed the hypothesis as if it were an actual proposal or a concrete offer.

To reinforce his version of this diplomatic imbroglio, Sneh recalled a remark made by Rabin "during his last visit to Washington, when he was at the

entrance to the Corcoran Gallery with President Clinton at his side." The gist, according to Sneh, was this: "We cannot give Syria what we gave Egypt by uprooting the Israeli presence and returning to the international boundary. The topography and geography of the Golan is different from that of Sinai."

A PHYSICIAN and former paratrooper officer, Sneh has a unique ability to combine incisive strategic analysis with realistic operational conclusions. This quality is borne out by his hard-boiled approach to Iraq and Iran, the two Middle Eastern powers he regards as Israel's principal foes.

"There is no doubt that President Saddam Hussein is continuing to build a long-range missile capability,

as well as weapons of mass destruction," Sneh said. "He intends to mount biological and chemical warheads on his projectiles and to use them against his immediate neighbors [Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates] and against Israel, too. He wants to regain the power to blackmail his Arab foes and achieve a balance of power with Iran."

"What led Saddam Hussein to make his recent moves was the fragility and weakness of the international front which the US built up against Iraq," he says.

In the event of a repetition of Iraq's launching Scud missiles against Israel — conceivably as part of its reaction to a new American onslaught — Sneh doubts that Israel will exercise the self-restraint it exhibited during the Gulf War.

"At that time there was a coalition and we wanted to keep it intact rather than disrupt it through direct action," he said. "Today that coalition no longer exists. So Israel has less inhibition to act."

Sneh's assessment of Iran's regional strategy is even more ominous from Israel's standpoint and more menacing in terms of the West's security and interests.



Ephraim Sneh: 'I think it is hypocrisy for him [Netanyahu] to mourn Rabin.' (Isaac Harari)

"The US failed to build a coalition against Iran," he said. "Therefore, it has no chance to impose an effective restraining mechanism against Tehran's subversive activities by means of prox-

ies, such as Lebanon's Hizbullah militia. At the same time, the West does not recognize the threat posed by Iran to Western civilization."

Zeroing in on the situation in Lebanon, Sneh contended that "the war being waged by Hizbullah on the Lebanese border is for Iran what the Spanish Civil War was for Adolf Hitler. It's a prelude to a broader confrontation between Khomineism and the West."

"If Russia continues to support Iran's missile project, in two years Iran will have a missile which could hit Israel with chemical and biological warheads. And within a few more years Iran will be able to mount nuclear warheads on its projectiles."

SNEH PULLED no verbal punches in rejecting fellow Laborite Yossi Beilin's approach to the regional situation and the effort to transform its endemic conflicts into irrevocable peace. "Beilin is a defeatist," he said, contending that he represents a different school of thought within the Labor Party's fold. Sneh rejected the idea of a unilateral withdrawal from the security zone in south Lebanon, arguing that this would be an irresponsible invitation to Hizbullah's gunners to fire their anti-tank shells into Misgav Am, Zar'it and Avivim.

See DEBATE, Page 15

## A conventional debate

By removing the primaries issue from Sunday's agenda, Netanyahu hopes to ensure an orderly party convention, and demonstrate his control, Sarah Honig writes



Rallying around Netanyahu at the 1996 Likud convention. Will the PM keep a lid on his party this time? (Brian Hendler)

left him with a public-relations problem. But the decision to postpone the primaries debate would have come anyway. I said as much a week before the actual decision. I

knew the matter would never come up at the convention, but I was accused of sending up a smoke screen," Matza said.

Indeed, he had dropped broad hints — before Netanyahu appeared to have caved in to his ministers' demands — that what Netanyahu was aiming at was precisely the sort of formulation which would

put the whole primaries discussion off but at the same time "put the Likud on notice that another convention session is in the offing. The very idea that a session has been earmarked to deal with the primaries is now an accepted and expected event-to-come. All the ministers agreed to it and no one will be able to challenge it."

"This factor will from now figure in all their calculations. If up to now it was illegitimate to broach the issue, it's now conspicuously on the party's plate," Matza stressed.

The source in the Prime Minister's Office agrees.

"The ministers all crowded and claimed that they had twisted Netanyahu's arm. But anyone who reads the situation carefully and without bias must realize that it wasn't really in Netanyahu's interest to launch World War III over the primaries at this juncture, so far from general elections."

"But what Netanyahu must do now is combat the anarchy in the Likud Knesset contingent's ranks. It is out of control."

THE LIKUD Knesset factions have always been plagued by unruly egos. Factionalism flourished and internecine skirmishes were an everyday occurrence.

These ills, argues the high-ranking source, "are now only further aggravated by the primaries because the restless Likud MKs are rendered even less dependent than previously on the party leaders for their political survival and are therefore far less disciplined. Everything that was always wrong with Likud Knesset factions is now far worse. The Likud's idiosyncratic syndrome has deteriorated into a virtual breakdown."

Netanyahu, according to the source, has to tackle this or "be irresponsible as the leader of the national camp. This is hardly an issue of seeking exclusive control of the party, as some would have."

The source also hotly disputes charges from many Likud quarters that Netanyahu is out to dump the primaries to more easily reserve safe slots on the next Likud slate of candidates for Tsomet and Geshet MKs. Unofficial talks, according to the party grapevine, are already well under way to announce a merger of sorts with the two satellites. The payoff would be chunks of the Likud list promised to them in advance. This is not likely to go down well with Likud MKs.

But Netanyahu's aide maintains that at "the very heart of this is a need to impose minimal order in the house. Because Netanyahu has gotten the ministers to understand that there will be another convention sitting, he has also given himself power. The idea of amending the party rules is finally officially sanctioned. The ministers can think that they twisted Bibi's arm but they put a whip in his hand in the shape of a future convention session."

Others in the party feel that Netanyahu is too battered to muster the considerable political stamina needed to effectively crack any whip. Yet in the long run the potential showdown is there.

IF AND when it materializes, Netanyahu is sure to again find himself facing off against his party's ministers and some MKs. The primaries system confers upon famous incumbents a massive head start in any party race. They are highly unlikely to agree to let go of the advantage they hold.

Their sigh of relief when the controversy was removed from the next week's convention agenda was more like a resounding whoop and it came equally from the loyal Matza as from the rebellious Limor Livnat.

See DEBATE, Page 15

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Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu would like nothing better than to slam the lid on the effervescent egos and raging personal animosities in his party, and leave them to simmer beneath the pressure cooker's tightly sealed cover.

Science Minister Michael Eitan reckons that Netanyahu may have at least managed to lower the flame on the Likud stove just in time to avert disaster in the kitchen. As a result, "only bland, flavorless dishes will be served at the party convention [due to open Sunday] and it will prove to be a very big bore," he predicted, unable to conceal his contentment.

He had been in a near-jubilant mood since Netanyahu agreed that the Likud's hyperactive convention delegates will not take up the thorny issue of the party primaries. That will be put off to an as-yet unscheduled special convention session. Given the Likud's spotty record, postponing its forums, no one can guess when this might take place.

Ultimately it depends on how much Netanyahu really wants the matter put to a vote and to what extent he believes that Likud higher-ups — with interests very inimical to his own — will make it politically possible for him to exercise the very real power which, all admit, he amply possesses among the convention delegates.

So far as Eitan is concerned, however, "That is all theoretical and far off in the future. What does matter is that this convention sitting would not provide the media with hot, spicy fare," Eitan said. "On offer will be just dry ideological debates on matters of principle — where we go from here, the future of Eretz Yisrael, etc."

"We really held no such deep discussions since the Oslo Accords were signed and one would think that the time has come to ponder the party line. However, what's all that in comparison to juicy piquant issues involving personal aspirations, individual political futures and those Knesset seats? That's the real tangy, appetizing stuff," he opined — only half in jest.

Eitan claims to have become convinced that the Likud's pot would not boil over, the minute the convention agenda had been rid of the vote on whether the next Likud list of Knesset candidates would be chosen by the 200,000 dues-paying party members, by the 2,700 central committee members, or via some compromise mechanism — one proposal suggested a forum of 10,000 electors.

Netanyahu would no doubt love Eitan to be proven right. Netanyahu cannot afford a turbulent convention — the sort of production the Likud is so good at mounting. Because he is so beleaguered from without, Netanyahu, more than ever, must demonstrate control on his own home turf.

The more he is delegitimized by the Bibi-bashing opposition and the largely hostile media, the more he needs a show of unity, support and even something approaching affection from his own party, admits a highly placed source at the Prime Minister's Office.

Because it is in Netanyahu's interests to prevent controversy, "he would have ruled against raising the primaries question at the convention in any case," asserts Health Minister Yehoshua Matza. Netanyahu's staunch ally and the man picked by the prime minister to chair the convention presidium and thereby in effect control the agenda.

"The ministers, myself very much among them, early in the week may have forced Netanyahu to do it a few days earlier than he wanted and not at his initiative, which may have

## Primary colors

Science Minister Michael Eitan is sure the Likud cannot resist from the Knesset primaries "even if the system is flawed. It will be perceived as undemocratic. Sometimes perception is all important, especially in politics."

He predicts that "all hell will break loose if the Knesset candidates aren't chosen by primaries. The large parties are shrinking and the safe slots grow fewer. There will be more losses and they will never recognize the legitimacy of their loss if the system is changed."

Besides, Eitan insists, "the alternative system will return us back to factionalism and the wrenching fighting. Do we really want to go back to the intrigues and the apor of those days? They had combined heavily in the Likud's downfall in 1992, and we would be put to shame in the next elections if Labor holds primaries and we don't."

From a purely partisan point of view, he adds, "primaries infuse excitement into the Likud arena. The rank and file is aroused and interested. They participate. They become active in the elections campaign. They are part of the effort and not apathetic bystanders."

Central committee member Moshe Dolgin nonetheless has filed a motion to the convention agenda to return the selection of candidates to the committee.

"How can this be judged as undemocratic?" demands the feisty 20-year-old, one of the survivors of the legendary *Akadem* ship, carrying arms and explosives intended for the IZL bombed on David Ben-Gurion's orders in 1948. "I am not Bibi's lackey as some seek to portray me. I was in this party before Bibi was born."

"But I see what is happening and it breaks my heart. Anyone can come and register as a party member — 220,000 people did. But did anyone stop to think how many of these memberships are bogus? Laborers can pay a few shekels to win eligibility to vote and then make sure the Likud is stuck with the worst set of candidates. Or a candidate can register all of his best friends."

Besides, the plain fact is that this huge membership is not always ideologically keen or active," Dolgin notes. "They show up to cast ballots, like lots of secular Jews go to synagogue on Yom Kippur."

"But the 220,000 members elect the 2,750 central committee members. These committee members are democratic representatives and not a handful of party hacks making appointments in back rooms. They are the true activists and they are out daily to

usher the Likud's cause even in the off-season. They know the last time no one else. They can make far better choices than the non-activist who can be swayed by momentary factors."

THE IRRELEVANT factors Dolgin alludes to are what MK "Uzi" Landau, bluntly identifies as "money and more money."

He, too, had put the primaries on the convention agenda, proposing that the central committee and other representative electors — 10,000 in all — put together the new list.

"The primary system, as my friend Benny Begin says, is corrupt and conspiring," Landau asserts. "It favors those who have the wherewithal to finance their campaigns. If the candidate is not independently wealthy, he may hook up with sponsors who will foot his political bill but later expect favors. Only the rich and famous can make it in this system."

Refined judge Uri Shatzman, overseer of the last Likud primaries and was appointed by Netanyahu to head a three-member committee to process proposals for a future convention session on the primaries. He argues that "the criterion for preferring any given system should not be whether the chances of any individual politician are better served by it. Any party needs to choose that team which would best represent its values and principles."

"The system whereby the best team is picked to implement what the party stands for is not necessarily synonymous with the system in which candidates are chosen via the participation of the largest number of voters."

This view is readily endorsed by Labor MK Yossi Beilin who believes that "what we see in the Likud is not a unique Likud issue. The root of all evil is the system of direct elections for prime minister. The primaries are only a companion American import, which does not belong in our very different brand of democracy and which is disastrous to it."

"The primaries will wipe out all party ideology and will flood us with ambitious, possibly corrupt, unprincipled individuals who have money or muscle or flimsy connections. They will decentralize the control of party forums to such an extent that we will have rampant anarchy on the one hand, and will also remove all checks and balances from the man elected directly to be prime minister."

"At either end of the hierarchy, there will be calamity — if the parties do not band to do something about it now — before all is lost," Beilin warns.

— S.H.

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MIDDLE ISRAEL



By AMOTZ ASA-EL

Those of us who stubbornly cast doubts over mounting evidence that the world is flat, that Abel killed Cain and that Hazoref passes for a newspaper, have just had a truly rough week.

To hear senior cabinet ministers — people who routinely make life-and-death decisions — seriously mull an Oliver Stone-type theory that Rabin's assassination was instigated by the very people who actually ended up its major political victims, is intellectually flabbergasting and nationally depressing.

Poor leaders incessantly squint at their flocks in search of hints for a direction in which to lead them. Good leaders chart that course regardless of the mob, and confidently count on their charisma to make the people follow them. Clearly, ours are of the former sort.

In the case of Rabin's opponents, the old grievances against his profoundly controversial record have already produced the very result his opponents had so sorely sought, namely a change of government. Now the Right should pause, introspect and seek a national reconciliation. Not because Rabin's assassination is or isn't its fault, but because the Right is now in power, and any

Israeli government must understand that for us, social cohesion is not a luxury, but a necessity.

Denying, even implicitly, that responsibility for Rabin's death lies with Yigal Amir the man, and that this in turn calls for a thorough soul-searching within the national-religious education system where he was shaped, is downright disingenuous, cowardly, and suicidal.

Had they been bold, right-wing leaders would have outspokenly confronted the zealots in their constituencies and told them that some things — like this young country's delicate social fabric and fragile democratic integrity — are more important than a Greater Israel. Tragically, those who did just that, most notably rabbis Yehuda Amital and Yoel Bin-Nun, were marginalized, delegitimized, and finally cast out.

As long as they keep squinting at their flock rather than focusing on the road ahead of them, rightist leaders will continue basking in Left-bashing to the delight of their followers. However, when this all ends up in war — as it is likely to — the Likud will find out it got to the battlefield with a nation split down the middle. For a better understanding of just where such divisiveness leads, one need only look back to the Lebanon War. Unity, in such moments, is not just a value; it is a vital national interest without which we stand to lose.

Now, with the Left's peace process a shambles, its hero slain and its government fallen, much of Israel's academic, financial and professional elites feel deeply

wounded. Pouring salt on their wounds with a blood libel may pander to the basest feelings of Betar Jerusalem's soccer fans, but where will it lead our hard-won Jewish state?

To be sure, unity doesn't mean uniformity. It means harboring respect, affinity and concern for one's co-nationals, regardless of politics, ethnicity, religion or any other sectional distinctiveness. As Jewish tragedies go, the lack of such tolerance has become the main common denominator between Right and Left.

EVEN NOW, when they have so much time to ponder their downfall, Labor's leaders stop short of publicly regretting the insults Rabin habitually hurled at his adversaries, his systematic disregard for the pain inflicted by terrorism on trans-Green Line Israelis, and his disgraceful enlistment of two vote-thieves in order to uphold a razor-thin parliamentary majority.

And so, with the smell of fratricide increasingly intoxicating the political extremes which insist on tearing this country asunder, Rabin's memory becomes a tool in the hands of ideological Frankensteins. One side binds Rabin to its agenda by depicting him as an angel, the other by portraying him as a devil.

In reality, Rabin was neither angel nor devil, but the ultimate victim of the politically indigestible military victory he led in 1967.

When Moses teamed up with Aaron to lead our forefathers into the wilderness, the distribution of

responsibilities was clear: Moses, the visionary stammerer, would show the way, while Aaron, the eloquent spin-doctor, would do the talking. Though not always a smooth partnership, the combination nevertheless worked.

Rabin, by contrast, was both a terrible speaker and a hesitant, non-visionary leader, ever steeped in tactics and at a loss to piece together some innovative strategic thought of his own. A good example of this was his scoffing at minister of defense in 1987 — a mere three years before F.W. de Klerk released Nelson Mandela from jail — at Yossi Beilin's insistence that Israel's arms policy towards South Africa be reversed, if not for moral reasons, then because apartheid's days were numbered.

Ever focused on immediate events and slow to detect — let alone fathom — social processes, Rabin blew it when he tried to lead on his own.

The faithful reliance on a narrow coalition, preferring Meretz over prospective religious partners, and the wretched choice of Shulamit Aloni as education minister, were all against Peres's advice, and ultimately failed colossally.

If Ehud Barak gets a chance to lead, he would do well to avoid such mistakes. Conversely, the Oslo Accords, which for better and for worse are here to stay, were not Rabin's, but Peres's brainchild. And lastly, few believe that the Six Day War — Rabin's greatest claim to fame — would have unfolded much differently had the IDF been led at the time by someone else.

In short, Rabin's imprint on Israeli history is not quite as deep as both his admirers and detractors would like us to believe. Two years after the abrupt conclusion of his leadership, he seems to resemble King Saul, the humble, "choice young man" who initially lacked a thirst for power, ultimately craved it, and finally died under-achieved and on his own sword, after being too soft on enemies from without and too tough on adversaries from within.

Like Chauncy, the gardener in Jerry Kosinski's novel *Being There*, who becomes a presidential candidate simply because he was always in the right place at the right time, Rabin was there in '67 and — having just concluded his term as ambassador — he wasn't there in '73, when Labor's leadership was destroyed by the Yom Kippur War. He also wasn't there when Labor lost power in '77, because he had stepped down shortly before that, but was there in '92, just when the public had become fed up with Yitzhak Shamir and after Peres had painstakingly restored the party for him.

Yet none of this luck could equip Rabin with the historical insight, broad education, spiritual sensitivities and political charisma which he so glaringly lacked. At the end of the day, "Rabin's legacy" is that of a man whose shoulders were too slim for the burden thrust on them by this people's heavy history. It's time we let him rest in peace, and focus instead on seeking the David who would do a better job integrating the tribes of Israel.

Dry Bones



SHABBAT SHALOM



By SHLOMO RESKIN

"Now God said to Abraham: 'Go out of your country, and from your kindred, and from your father's house, to the land that I will show you.'"

(Gen. 12:1)

Why is Abraham the first Jew? Was it because of his willingness to leave the land of his ancestors and head toward an uncertain destiny armed with nothing but a Divine promise? Or was it because he did not flinch when God commanded him to sacrifice his beloved son Isaac?

The uniqueness of Abraham is expressed in the following manner: "With 10 trials our father Abraham was tested, and he stood [firm — amad] in all of them, to make known how great was the love of Abraham (for God)." (Ethics of Our Fathers, Ch. 5, Mishna 4). Rather than picking out the one major event of his life that made him the person he was, the Mishna stresses that there were 10 such tests.

In fact, the Midrash connects the Ten Plagues of Egypt to the Ten Commandments and the Ten Trials of Abraham. These are the reward to the descendants of Abraham for their forefather's ability to withstand his trials. And with Abraham, Jewish history begins.

Hence, linking Abraham's 10 tests to the formative events of Jewish history tells us that Abraham's trials are the first steps in the unfolding of Jewish history. But what's odd about these trials is that when we examine the list that Maimonides details in his commentary, Abraham appears to have failed several of them.

Let us explore Maimonides's list. (1) The command to leave his native land and head toward an unknown destination. (2) The famine in the land of Canaan that Abraham endures immediately after God promised that he would make Abraham's name great. (3) The corruption in Egypt which led to Sarah's being taken into Pharaoh's harem. (4) Abraham's war with the four kings. (5) Abraham's making Hagar his concubine after giving up hope of having a child with Sarah. (6) His circumcision at the age of 99. (7) Abimelech's taking Sarah as a wife. (8) Abraham's banishment of Hagar. (9) The banishment of Ishmael. (10) The binding of Isaac.

The challenges demonstrated Abraham's courage, loyalty, trust, commitment and the annulment of his own will in the face of the will of God. But a closer examination makes us question if indeed Abraham passed all 10.

The text of the famine is certainly problematic. How can we say that Abraham passed it when he fled Israel to go down to Egypt, not only leaving the "Promised Land" but also endangering the chastity of his wife?

Nahmanides goes so far as to say that leaving Israel was a grave sin, albeit an unwitting one. Furthermore, tests numbers three and seven raise more questions than they answer.

In each instance, Abraham faces a rapacious king, and a corrupt

Standing up to the test

Pamela Lock Leach

society. He reacts by giving them the understanding that Sarah is his sister and not his wife, thus enabling himself to live. An argument can be made on the basis of the biblical text that the later enslavement of Abraham's descendants in Egypt was the Divine response to Abraham's misconduct, at least vis-à-vis Sarah.

Furthermore, what are we to make of the trial that describes Abraham as heeding Sarah's suggestion to take Hagar as a concubine? When Hannah (mother of the prophet Samuel) weeps because God has made her barren, Elkanah doesn't turn around and get himself a mistress. He addresses Hannah lovingly: "Am I not better to you than 10 sons?" (1 Samuel 1:8).

Had Abraham spoken to Sarah like Elkanah spoke to Hannah, wouldn't this have more clearly demonstrated his profound faith in God's promise that a great nation would emerge from his loins?

It would also have demonstrated to future generations that a mother's influence is as important as a father's! Moreover, had Abraham refused a concubine, the threat of Ishmael would never have arisen.

Rabbi Isaac Bernstein of London suggests that the answer lies in taking a closer look at the language of the Mishna in Avot: "With 10 trials was our father Abraham tested, and he stood in all of them (ve'amad be'ulam)." What's interesting about the word *amad* (he stood) is that "standing" is not necessarily the best way to describe a successful encounter.

Maimonides's selection of the 10 trials is broad enough to include a variety of responses on the part of Abraham.

Some, such as following the Divine into an unknown land and agreeing to circumcision at the age of 99, are clear-cut examples of profound faith and a willingness to put the will of God before his own. But others, such as the famine in Israel or claiming that Sarah was Abraham's sister, seem to record the human act of trying to stand up again after having fallen.

Thus what emerges from Maimonides's listing is not only the superhuman figure who survives the fires of Nimrod (listed by Rashi, but not by Maimonides as one of the 10 trials) but a much more human Abraham. He remains a man of supreme commitment but is, at the same time, vulnerable to the ravages of famine, the frustrations of childlessness and the murderous, lascivious glances of foreign rulers.

Sometimes Abraham behaves with superhuman courage and sometimes he reveals more of his basic humanity — but he always stands rooted in God. He always rises again, even if he seems to have momentarily fallen.

And perhaps this is the nature of the tests and trials we each face. We don't necessarily pass them all with flying colors, perhaps we're not even expected to.

But we are expected never to despair, never to give up, to always "stand on our feet" (*amad*), rooted in our tradition and rooted in our God.

Shabbat Shalom

'A people rascally and unwise'

A VIEW FROM NOV



By MOSHE KOHN

President Ezer Weizman's impetuous tongue and the no-less-impetuous response of Orthodox spokespersons to his most recent eruption are further proof of the accuracy of Moses' characterization of us as "a people rascally and unwise" (Deuteronomy 32:6).

Weizman was one of the speakers at a day-long symposium of educators and public officials on "The State of Israel — State of the Jews or Jewish State?" sponsored by the Education and Culture Ministry's Torah Culture Department on October 30.

He said, "People should read the Tanach. But it may not be worthwhile to read the whole Tanach, because it contains some very unappealing things." He singled out Moses, "the greatest Jewish leader ever, but maybe he should have been more careful before saying some of the things he said."

Weizman specifically mentioned the above-cited remark in Moses' farewell address, and "especially some of his closing remarks."

Moses closes his address saying, in God's name: "I will render vengeance to My adversaries, and will pay those who hate Me. I will make My arrows drunk with blood, and My sword shall devour flesh."

Thus spoke Moses some 3,400 years ago,

before he had had a chance to be educated in pacifism by Quaker founder George Fox, Mohandas Gandhi, or Peace Now's Tzali Reshef. Participants in the symposium, including Orthodox Knesset members, variously called on Weizman to resign, to apologize, to forget about a second term, and called on the nation to "rend our clothes in mourning" over Weizman's remarks.

Deputy Housing and Construction Minister Rabbi Meir Porush said: "The eternal Book of Books that the Jewish people bequeathed to the world is absolutely indivisible."

First of all, no one is more critical of Moses and other heroes of the Tanach than the Tanach itself and the talmudic Sages.

Secondly, it would be good to hear Porush and his fellow Orthodox politicians and rabbis speak out more frequently, louder and more forthrightly about how the Book of Books is too often "divided" by people professing to speak in the name of Torah who pay less attention to the ethical and moral purity of their tongues, hands and minds than they do to the ritual purity of their pots, dishes and cutlery.

As for Weizman — let him hear and heed the advice he gave Moses retroactively about thinking before he speaks. It's not too late for him to study the Tanach under the guidance of a scholar well versed in it and its exegesis. Indeed, it's a pity that the Prime Minister's and the President's Residences no longer resort to the scholarly discussions of that Book of Books as they did when they served as the meeting places of the Tanach Study Circle launched and presided over by our first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, and our second and third presidents, Izhak Ben-Zvi and Zalman Shazar.

Furthermore, one of the beautiful aspects of the Torah — of the Tanach in general — is precisely that it is not merely an anthology of wise sayings, and is not a collection of heroic tales about unimpeachably noble, virtuous people.

"The Old Testament — that is something else again," the much-maligned Friedrich Nietzsche wrote. "all honor to the Old Testament! I find in it great human beings, a heroic landscape, and something of the rarest quality in the world, the incomparable naïveté of the strong heart; what is more, I find a people" (*On the Genealogy of Morals* III:22 (in *The Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, translated and edited, with commentaries, by Walter Kaufmann, Modern Library).

"In the Jewish 'Old Testament,' the book of divine justice," he wrote in *Beyond Good and Evil* #52. "I find... speeches in so grand a style that Greek and Indian literature have nothing to compare with it."

Then we have the word of Thomas H. Huxley, the 19th-century biologist/philosopher/writer, an avowed agnostic: "All that is best in the ethics of the modern world, insofar as it has not grown out of Greek thought or barbarian manhood," he asserted, "is the direct development of the ethics of old Israel" (*Essays*, Vol. 3).

He considered the Bible an important educational instrument, because he was "seriously perplexed to know by what practical measure the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, was to be kept up in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion in these matters without [the Bible's] use."

Huxley asked: "By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized, and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills,

like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between Eternities; and earns the blessings or the curses of all time, according to its effort to do good and hate evil?"

Furthermore, "The Bible is the most democratic book in the world... Down to modern times no State has had a constitution on which the interests of the people are so largely taken into account, in which the duties so much more than the privileges of rulers are insisted upon, as that drawn up for Israel in Deuteronomy and Leviticus."

MANY PEOPLE who are ignorant of the Tanach's, especially the Torah's, contents, and many who should know better speak of "Prophetic Judaism" — the Prophets' preachments of morality and ethics, and the poetic/philosophic discourses and declamations — as distinct from what they disdainfully speak of as the Torah's "legalistic Judaism."

They ought to consider the reminder of the talmudic Sage Rabbi Ada, who said in Rabbi Hanina's name: If the Jewish people had not sinned, we would have had only the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua (*Nedarim* 22b).

That is to say: If not for our folly and waywardness, leading to the Destruction and Exile, the Prophets would not have had to speak all those beautiful, ringing words about the consequences of our misconduct and about the glorious future in store for us and humanity when the Redemption comes.

We would not have fallen and we would not have to be redeemed.

E-mail comments to: [moshe@post.co.il](mailto:moshe@post.co.il). Please include home address.

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**THE JERUSALEM POST**

## Israel —

from every point of view





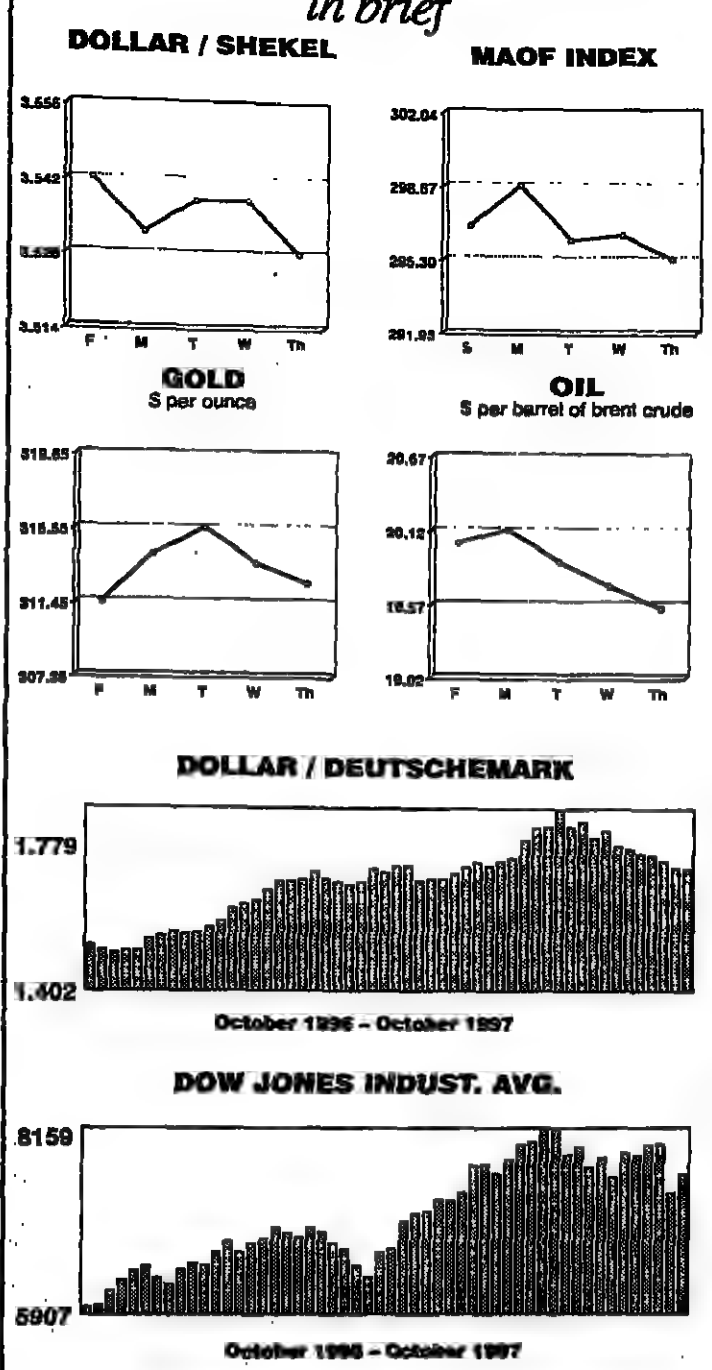


# BUSINESS & FINANCE

Friday,  
November 7, 1997

## BUSINESS

in brief



### Indigo steps toward the black in Q3

Indigo NV, the beleaguered Rehovot-based high-tech printing company, stepped toward the black in the third quarter with net losses of \$9.7 million, compared to \$14.3m. in the corresponding quarter one year ago. Revenues for the period were up 22%, to \$27.7m. This is the fourth consecutive quarter in which the company announced a narrowing of losses.

"We believe that these improved results are due primarily to growing recognition in the marketplace that Indigo's customers are becoming increasingly profitable," CEO Benny Landa said in a statement.

In 1996, Indigo announced a massive restructuring in an attempt to regain its former status as one of Israel's leading high-tech firms.

The plan included strengthening sales and marketing channels in North America and brought the dismissal of the firm's president and CEO and the president of Indigo America.

Jennifer Friedlin

## Treasury: NIS 400m. shortfall in real estate taxes

By DAVID HARRIS

Taxes collected from real estate transactions will fall NIS 400 million short of the government's earlier projections, Income Tax Commissioner Doron Levy said yesterday.

Speaking to the Knesset Finance Committee, Levy attributed the shortfall to an ongoing slowdown in the property market.

Government income from fuel sales will be NIS 300m. less than the government's original forecast, said Monti Ayalon, director of the Customs and VAT division.

Overall revenues in 1997 will total NIS 109.1b., according to State Revenues Director Tzipi Galyam, compared to the original forecast in summer 1996 of NIS 113.4b. This figure was corrected to NIS 107.9b. in December 1996. In

real terms taxation will be no higher in 1998 than in 1997, said Galyam.

Labor MKs expressed dismay at the data. "The real estate figures are most worrying," said Elie Goldschmidt (Labor). "These testify to the recession in the property market, which in turn reflects the bad state of the economy in general."

Opposition MKs also warned that the Treasury's predictions for 1998

income were too high.

"The 1998 [revenues] forecast is an inflated balloon," said Haim Oron (Meretz), explaining that the Treasury's 1998 forecast is based on a higher inflation rate than what is currently expected.

Earlier in the week, the Treasury said the 1997 budget deficit will fall within its target of 2.8 percent of the gross domestic product. However, former finance minister Avraham

Shohat (Labor), said such an achievement would reflect negative trends, such as a lack of expenditure on mortgages and investment in industry.

Shohat also accused Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of failing to cut taxes. Between 1993 and 1996 the tax burden was reduced at an annual NIS 8b., but there was an NIS 2b. increase this year, Shohat said.

## Wainshal nominated as Migdal's chairman

By DAN GERSTENFELD

David Wainshal was nominated as chairman of the board of directors of the Migdal Insurance Group, the company yesterday said. This is first major change made in the company since March, when Assicurazioni Generali, Italy's largest insurer, purchased control of Leumi Insurance, the parent of Migdal.

Wainshal will replace attorney David Slonim, who was temporary chairman over the last two months. Slonim will continue as acting director.

A year ago, Wainshal resigned after serving for seven years as president and managing director of Clal Israel. At the time analysts said that move reflected the desire of IDB Holdings Group, which took control over Clal that year, to bring in its own staff.

Prior to that, he spent nine years as president of Supersol and three years as director-general of Finance Ministry.



David Wainshal

The Migdal Insurance Group consists of five insurance companies: Migdal, Hamagen, Shimshon, Maoz, and Sela. It also owns insurance agencies and financial companies.

Migdal is the country's largest insurance company, with 1,300 employees and assets worth more than \$4.4 billion.

## Bezeq okays reorganization

By JUDY SIEGEL

Bezeq's board of directors and its works committee yesterday approved the principles for the company's first structural reorganization and the reduction of manpower by 1,800 workers over the next two years.

Bezeq CEO Izzi Tapoohi congratulated management and workers on the successful conclusion of the negotiations.

"The agreement constitutes an unavoidable step due to the new reality in the telecommunications market and the continuation of privatization and the stock issue expected at the end of this month," Tapoohi said.

The agreement is expected to be signed on Sunday between management and the works committee, after approval by the Bezeq works committee.

The negotiations, which lasted several months, concluded with an agreement on early retirement

arrangements, and a decision to close eight of 26 customer service units as an efficiency measure. The four Bezeq districts will continue to exist. Some 1,200 workers will be cut next year, and 600 more by the end of 1999. This is to be done by first offering early retirement with beneficial conditions, and only later through dismissals.

The cost of reducing manpower from nearly today's 8,200 will be NIS 1.4 billion. The cost will be borne by the company itself and partially by funds from the stock issue to be carried out soon.

Meanwhile, the board of directors gave Bezeq's management the task of investigating allegations that Telrad Telecommunication & Electronic Industries and Tadiran Communications colluded in a price-fixing scheme and coordinated in Bezeq bids.

The company expects to issue its findings within a month.

Jennifer Friedlin contributed to this report

## Jesselson, Eisenberg detained

Jerusalem Post Staff

Benjamin Jesselson and Shlomo Eisenberg, who control the investment holding company Arad, were detained on Tuesday on suspicion of deceiving shareholders and conspiring to manipulate the results of a company vote. Eisenberg was released on bail of NIS 6 million; Jesselson NIS 4.5m.

The Securities Authority suspects that Eisenberg sold Jesselson and his brother Michael shares in Arad to win enough shareholder support to purchase his personal stake in Arad's real estate subsidiary, Isras.

According to the law, the deal could only be approved if one-third of the shareholders, who had no personal interest, agreed. Therefore, Eisenberg, who was not a disinterested party, allegedly used the Jesselsons to sway the vote.

As a result, he succeeded in getting enough support to sell his stake in Isras for twice the market value. Eisenberg made over NIS 100m. from the deal.

Representatives of the Jesselson brothers attended the meeting and did not identify themselves to the other shareholders. Suspicious shareholders contacted the Securities Authority following the meeting, and it decided to investigate the vote.

Arad's management said that to the best of its knowledge, there were no agreements between Eisenberg and the Jesselsons.

Meanwhile, the Securities Authority is investigating Benjamin Jesselson on suspicion that he concealed income and kept fraudulent books at pharmaceutical company Promedico, which he purchased from Teva in 1987.

## MENA turnout to fall short of Cairo

By DAVID HARRIS

The fourth annual Middle East and North Africa (MENA) economic summit, due to take place in Doha, Qatar on November 16-18, will be attended by only half the number of participants as last year, Mark Sofer, the head of the Foreign Ministry's Middle East Economic Division, said yesterday.

While some 4,000 business people participated in the event in Cairo last year, only 2,000-2,100 have applied to attend the Doha conference.

The Israeli delegation numbers about 30 and is to be headed by Foreign Minister David Levy. Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky will also attend.

Organized by the World Economic Forum, the economic conference will focus on improving partnership between the public

and private sectors.

The US will send the largest delegation of 160 business people. Senior executives are expected from multinationals such as Amoco, Deloitte Touche, Occidental, Mobile and Enron.

"US participation will be on a par with the three previous MENA conferences," said acting deputy US ambassador Tain Tompkins, adding that the US wants to see the "routinizing" of regional commerce.

Japan also plans to send 30 to 35 senior executives.

The WEF has so far received applications from 900 business people, Sofer said. He added that Arab business people have shown more interest in recent days.

Several Arab countries, including Iraq, Libya and Syria will not attend the conference, despite last minute persuasion attempts by US

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Despite the lingering political issues, the Manufacturers Association said that this year's conference has the potential to be the most successful to date.

"This time we're less under the gaze of journalists and politicians, therefore, it should be easier to achieve our targets in the business sector," said Association President Dan Propper.

Whereas previous summits were held in poorer countries such as Morocco, Jordan and Egypt, Propper said that the Gulf is not only wealthy, but is also technologically advanced, offering a ripe opportunity for joint ventures with Israeli companies.

Israel, Jordan and the US are expected to sign an agreement at the conference for a joint free trade area in Irbid, Jordan, Sharansky said.

## SOME INVESTORS SLEPT PEACEFULLY THROUGH THE MARKET CRISIS

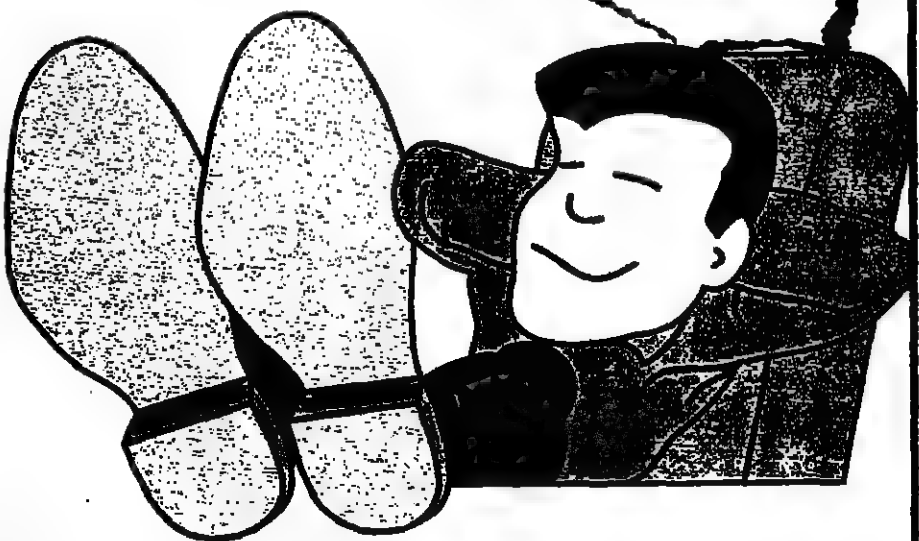
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## IEC okays \$1 billion bond sale

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

The board of directors of the Israel Electric Corporation yesterday approved a \$1 billion bond sale to take place in the US and Europe, a company announcement said.

The nature and duration of the bonds has yet to be determined.

The capital will go toward funding the company's 1998 \$1.5b. development program, including the building of new major and secondary power stations.

The bonds will be sold by Lehman Brothers, Salomon Brothers, Goldman Sachs and Merrill Lynch. The Bank of New

York will underwrite the issue.

In recent years, raising capital through foreign markets has become a major plank in company policy.

Last year, the company raised \$760 million in the US through an issuance of 10-, 30- and 100-year bonds. And between 1992 and 1996 the company raised DM 980m., principally for funding secondary power stations and purchasing four gas turbines for the Gezer and Rutenberg projects at Ramle and Ashkelon.

The company said that it has been necessary to raise the capital to implement new projects and to cope with the current challenges

facing the company.

Electricity consumption in Israel has grown in the last decade by an average annual rate of 7.2% and the company's investments over the next decade are likely to reach \$12b., company chairman Gad Ya'acobi said.

The government is currently considering plans to privatize 10%-15% of the IEC, a 100% government-held monopoly, by the end of the decade.

In the second quarter of the year, IEC moved into the red with net losses of NIS 115 million. The company has said it expects to record NIS 100m. in net profits in the third quarter.

## DEBATE

Continued from Page 12

"They are not so worried about what will come later. Most ministers don't believe the special session will ever be convened and trust that political constraints will impede Netanyahu from ever pressing ahead with it, especially given the fact that he couldn't get this session to deal with the primaries. But not everyone in the Likud is this complacent," said MK David Re'em.

He is pointed to as precisely the sort of MK Netanyahu would love to purge from the Knesset list. He is an outspoken hawk on

the one hand and on socio-economic issues as troublesome as the Geshar crew.

Re'em had been knocking Netanyahu for months and declares openly that he "doesn't trust him. I'm not convinced that the primaries issue will not after all put in an unexpected appearance at the convention. No one can guarantee that Netanyahu is not playing a double game."

"That is why no one will be able to lower his vigilance until the last verse of the 'Hatikva' is sung at the convention. Till then I will keep my eyes peeled on the side door lest the banished primaries question does somehow crash our party."

No one, Re'em said, can presume to forecast "what sort of a

convention this will be, because we are an unpredictable party. Even if the primaries are never so much as mentioned, we are capable of clashing riotously. Ideological issues were never calmly deliberated in the Likud and they can certainly kindle conflagrations, personal and otherwise. I don't plan to keep mum myself. I can't picture someone like [MK Ze'ev] Begin taking a vow of silence either."

"For good or ill, the Likud's cuisine is always zestful and peppery," Re'em insisted. Unlike Eitan, he "would not be surprised if yet again the lid on the Likud's pot is blown off," and if everything irrepressibly bubbles over the top, pungent and visible to all.

## SNEH

Continued from Page 12

He said Israel must be prepared to lose "20 to 40 soldiers a year" to keep the northern frontier area secure and assure that its economic development is uninterrupted by outbreaks of violence and wanton destruction.

"There are two vital preconditions for Israel's security: Total

military superiority and defensible borders. Without either of these two preconditions, Israel will not be safe even when peace treaties are signed," he said.

His most passionate comments were prompted by the proposed conversion bill, an initiative he regards as a plot to "delegitimize the Conservative and Reform movements." He maintained that it would be "a historical catastrophe" to alienate millions of Jews from the Jewish

state and warned that no one will be able to correct this in the future.

"There is no political benefit which could justify or support this kind of law," he said. "My colleagues and I will vote against it."

"If I had the choice between having the bill pass with our support in order to win the next elections or to lose the elections by opposing the bill, I would prefer to lose the elections."











## NON-JEWS

Continued from Page 1

Nevertheless, they are distinguished from Jewish citizens in their identity cards, and in those areas of life — such as marriage, divorce, and burial — where Halacha applies. Among other things, they cannot marry Jewish Israelis in state ceremonies, or be buried in a Jewish cemetery alongside Jews.

Many people are worried about the ramifications of having such a large population that, in many important ways, will remain cut off from the mainstream. They warn that, unless the problem is resolved, it will create a new source of ethnic hatred in Israel to add to the many others.

"This is a terrible problem that will explode one day," says former ambassador to the USSR Aryeh Levine. "We are likely to feel it in another 10 years. Look what happened with the Moroccan immigrants. They were hurt and embittered and today they have created a strong political party along ethnic lines to press their just demands. Think about what the Russians will do."

According to Russian-born activist Dina Yablonsky, "The children among the non-Jews, including those already born here, see that they are second- or third-rate citizens. Everyone who knows what is going on knows this is a time bomb. If we reject them, they will become enemies of Israel. They will not be able to remain neutral."

These fears have led Yablonsky, Levine, and others to believe that in the national interest, the conversion process must be made as simple as possible, so as to encourage as many non-Jews as possible to convert.

They prefer not to get involved in the larger debate over whether the Chief Rabbinate should have a monopoly on conversion or the Reform and Conservative movements should also be given that right. Working on the basis of the status quo, they say that the Chief Rabbinate should make conversion as simple, palatable, and considerate as possible without violating the essential strictures of the faith.

To be more explicit, this means not only removing unnecessary bureaucratic obstacles or changing the attitude of rabbis, who are often suspicious of the converts' motives. Above all, it means not insisting that the converts live an Orthodox life.

THERE is no doubt that some — perhaps many — immigrants, who would not consider an Orthodox conversion, would agree to a Reform or Conservative one, were it recognized by the state. Nonetheless, the parties to the dispute over who should perform conversions are not

quite the same as over the question of whether to facilitate the conversion of the non-Jewish immigrants.

Among the advocates of strictly halachic conversion, there are both Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews who have been calling for far-reaching reforms to make it easier for non-Jews to convert. Their approach contradicts what is perceived today as the traditional attitude towards conversion.

For decades, if not centuries, the conversion issue was a matter for individuals, not massive numbers of people, and the conventional view is that the rabbis went to great lengths to dissuade potential converts until they proved beyond a doubt that they wholeheartedly embraced the Jewish faith and planned to scrupulously observe religious law.

Representatives of the Chief Rabbinate, such as Conversion Authority head Rabbi Yisrael Rosen and his deputy, Rabbi Raphael Ostrov, and Orthodox politicians such as Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein, deny that they want to limit conversion in any way. The reason why only a small number of immigrants have converted in the past eight years, they say, is because it has taken time to adapt the existing conversion mechanism to meet the challenge of the massive Soviet immigration.

Last May, Edelstein announced that the ministries and other public institutions involved in the conversion process had agreed on a coordinated plan to facilitate the conversion of as many immigrants as possible to convert.

The Orthodox reformers, however, accuse the Chief Rabbinate and its political supporters of embodying the traditional approach and blame them for allegedly obstructing the conversion of many thousands of immigrants, who, they say, could rejuvenate the Jewish nation.

They are critical of the Chief Rabbinate in general and the regular Rabbinate courts, which are often known to be unfriendly to converts, in particular. They also do not believe that the special conversion courts that have been revived over the past few months, or the Conversion Authority established two years ago, have done much to change attitudes.

Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, the chief rabbi of Efrat, believes that Chief Rabbis Yisrael Lau and Eliahu Bakshi-Doron sincerely want to facilitate conversion.

"Every time I have come to them for help in solving the problem of an individual convert, they have been more than forthcoming," he said.

But Riskin added that there is no systematic program to solve the question of the conversion of massive numbers of non-Jews. And the only solution, he maintains, is for the Chief Rabbinate to follow the dic-

ates of talmudic law without going beyond the Talmud.

"There are close to 200,000 non-Jews from the former Soviet Union who should be converted if they plan to continue living in Israel," he said. "Jewish law is not as rigid as many seem to think. Indeed, although circumcision, ritual immersion, and acceptance of commandments are absolutely necessary prerequisites for proper conversion, the Talmud does not insist that the would-be convert be thoroughly familiar with all of this ritual."

"When it comes to conversion, there is a difference between Israel and the Diaspora," Riskin continued. "In the Diaspora, rabbis must be adamant about the strict enforcement of Halacha, because otherwise the converts won't remain Jewish. In Israel, it is possible to be more lenient because the converts will remain Jewish even if they do not observe Halacha."

Dina Yablonsky, a diminutive and dynamic woman who immigrated from Moscow in 1973, moved to the religious settlement of Keshet on the Golan Heights and became a religious nationalist, is the Chief Rabbinate's severest critic. For Yablonsky, the infusion of thousands of converts into Israeli society would provide an enormous boost to the country and create the conditions necessary to attract tens of thousands more.

"The rabbinical establishment is in the hands of haredim who cannot countenance large-scale conversion," said Yablonsky. "That is their ideology. But we are dealing with a national issue. There are hundreds of thousands of non-Jews who are already Israeli citizens, and millions [primarily in the US] who are potential citizens. Our nation can renew itself through these people."

Yablonsky, a gadfly who has infuriated the Chief Rabbinate and politicians like Edelstein, has established a non-profit organization called Naomi — the Public Forum to Facilitate Conversion, to lobby for what it describes as "a more positive and receptive attitude towards conversion."

THE other, better known, challenge to the Orthodox establishment regarding the conversion of immigrants comes from the Reform and Conservative movements.

The issue of the Soviet non-Jewish immigrants is not the main motivating factor in their struggle for the right to perform conversions, but they hold conversion classes in Russian as part of their overall activity in the field.

Some of their petitions to the High Court of Justice regarding the right to perform conversions here involve these immigrants. Thus, the question of how to cope with the unprecedented number of non-Jews in Israel

has become an important side-show in the primarily theological and political battle among the three movements.

Everyone acknowledges that the future status of the non-Jewish immigrants is an important issue, but no one really knows the scope of it because no one knows how many potential converts there are among them. In fact, no one even knows exactly how many non-Jews have immigrated to Israel.

Estimates on the number of non-Jewish immigrants fluctuate wildly. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, no more than 60,000 non-Jews immigrated between 1989 and 1994 (the last available figures).

During the earlier years, the number of documented non-Jews was relatively low, with the percentage increasing as the years went on. But even assuming that the proportion of non-Jews among the immigrants remains as high as it was in 1994 — 29.4 percent annually — the total as of June 1997 would be less than 80,000.

Nevertheless, many people claim that as many as 150,000-200,000 immigrants are not Jewish. According to Levine, the Liaison Bureau, which examines the credentials and issues visas to immigrants from the former Soviet Union, has operated from the beginning on the informed assumption that 20 percent of the immigrants are not Jewish.

JUST as there is uncertainty about the number of potential converts among the non-Jewish immigrants, there is also uncertainty about what they want. Many outsiders speak on their behalf, but there are no spokesmen from within the community itself.

That is not surprising, according to MK Roman Bronfman (Yisrael Ba'aliya), "because there is no community of non-Jewish immigrants. They are individuals who belong to families that are Jewish, and as such feel quite comfortable here."

There are three other factors which must be kept in mind in putting into perspective the question of the potential for conversion among the Soviet immigrants.

The first is the fact that most of those who have come here since 1989 have done so for economic rather than ideological or religious reasons. This great wave of immigration dates from the fall of 1989, when the US stopped granting asylum to Soviet Jews as political refugees. As the years have gone by, the number of non-ideologically committed immigrants, including the proportion of non-Jews, has escalated.

Secondly, virtually all Soviet Jews of the last two generations were taught by their government to be atheists. Many of those who have come to Israel still are. But living here has influenced some and led them to convert or become open to the possibility of conversion.

Finally, and most important is the pragmatic consideration: The sheer numbers will — even under the most liberal of circumstances — make it difficult for all potential converts to convert in the near term. Conversion advocates, therefore, believe that it is most important to try to convert non-Jewish women of child-bearing age. In the long run, they hold the key to whether the non-Jewish community of Israelis from the former Soviet Union will expand or whether it will flow into the Jewish mainstream and disappear as a separate entity.

First in a four-part series  
Next: The search for solutions

## INCITEMENT

Continued from Page 11

While marching with coffins in the street against the Oslo process is legitimate political expression, "if the banner says Rabin's or Netanyahu's grave, then it is incitement," he says.

According to Ben-Eliezer, those like Netanyahu who participated in demonstrations where such incitement took place and did nothing to stop it "are guilty not by doing something actively, but by looking aside and ignoring what took place there, and they are as guilty as those who did it."

As a campaign manager, Ben-Eliezer says, "I ridicule people. I criticize them — that's legit. It stops being legit when there is a call to physically terminate, eliminate or take a life which is directed towards the masses. Because there will always be someone who will take it at face value and do something."

He warned that Netanyahu's remarking to Rabbi Yitzhak Kadouri that those on the Left had forgotten what it is to be Jews was highly problematic.

"[He's saying:] If they are not Jews, and they rely on Arabs, then they are our enemies. If they are enemies, you treat them like enemies. What do you do with enemies...? How do you fight them? Verbally? You don't win a war verbally. So all of a sudden they are being labeled a danger to the existence of the Jewish people. Everyone can draw their own conclusion."

URI AVNERY, one of the leaders of Gush Shalom, a former MK and former editor of *Ha'olam Hazeh* magazine, agrees that the L-word is "being used very loosely. It's being flung around without much thinking."

"When we accuse people today of incitement, I think we should be cautious in defining exactly what we mean," says Avnery, himself the target of such accusations in the past.

Just as you can't hold all the Palestinians responsible for a suicide bomber, Avnery argues, the rabbis of Judea and Samaria who made extremely harsh remarks about Rabin "are not personally responsible for the murder of Rabin. But they created the psychological infrastructure for the murder, and this has to be said if we are to learn anything from it."

In the Left's demonstrations against Rabin, "we always knew where the limit is, knew what sign we could show and which not. This was totally destroyed in the months before the murder, and I don't think we have changed very much."

"There must be a limit... free discourse is based on an underlying agreement of everybody to keep to certain limits. You cannot have a democratic society pronouncing death sentences on political leaders."

He also blamed the media for focusing so much attention on footage and photographs of the anti-Rabin demonstrations. Wolfstfeld

agrees. "The media also plays a large part in these events because they love it. The use of incitement tends to increase the drama, tension, the potential for violence. So in addition to the use of political activists and leaders have for this, the media also sells newspapers with it."

Avnery rejected charges of that the Left was inciting against the Right in recent weeks, in the run-up to the anniversary of Rabin's murder.

"Incitement is a criminal offense and has a criminal definition. It is saying things that will probably lead people to acts of violence. When you say Bibi is a catastrophe for the country, it is still within the realm of political discourse. No one in his Right or even wrong mind would take a gun and kill Bibi over it."

While noting US law allowed Nazis to march freely in Skokie, Avnery says "We cannot afford American standards. Incitement in the proper sense should be prohibited, but it has never been enforced. Freedom of speech should be very far-reaching, but one cannot be allowed to say you can kill the prime minister or anyone, and this is the limit that should be observed."

YISRAEL HAREL, an ideologue in the settlers' movement, rejects Avnery's defense, saying the Left "is trying to delegitimize legitimate political acts such as rallies, speeches and so on."

He blames this on the Left's inability "to forgive the Right for the Left's having lost the election, and rule over the country. They won't forgive the Right, and that's the main reason for the very harsh way they treat Bibi."

While recalling the Elbe case and then attorney-general Michael Ben-Yair's campaign against incitement on the Right, Harel says no one took similar action against a Hebrew University professor who called for using tanks to take over Ofra.

He doesn't deny there were problematic statements made on the Right — including Elbe's which, he admits, "I didn't like."

He even admits that "when it comes to the masses, there's no doubt that the Right-wing masses in the period before the assassination used much harsher language, and pictures of Rabin in a lefty way that were burned sometimes. It wasn't a pleasant sight to see. But when it comes to expressions of leaders, the expressions of Left-wing leaders are much harsher and inciting than those on the Right." Examples: Rabin calling Gush Emunim "a cancer in the heart of the nation," or comparing the settlers to Nazis.

"I do not say that therefore, he deserved to be killed. God forbid," says Harel, "but if we compare the language and expressions used, not only in recent years, it seems to me that the Right hasn't come close to what the Left has done."

WHAT CAN be done to clear the air, dump the L-word and replace it with responsible free speech? Have we come any closer to finding ways

to agree to disagree that don't include verbal or other violence?

"I think that deep down we have learned something, and you see that," says Harel. "The streets aren't full of demonstrations, and if they are, they are not using the language that was used before. I think the religious education system did a lot of soul-searching and it definitely changed methods of education."

"But if you ask me if relations between the two camps improved, or a dialogue came about, it's gotten worse. People don't talk, they just shout. Their obligation is not to the truth, but the party, the chief, the leader, and this is a very sick situation." Harel suggests the Left stop trying to link the Right's leaders to the assassination, because it won't change anything. "It's the duty of all of us to look towards the future and not always dig into the past," he says.

Ben-Eliezer believes there's even more division than before the assassination because of the growing gap along secular-religious lines. He says the solution is first and foremost in Netanyahu's hands.

"I think if Bibi in the Knesset publicly, wherever he can, wouldn't take the blame on himself for the Rabin assassination, but would say, I apologize to Rabin for what happened and I apologize for any involvement I or my friends unwittingly had in the riots, and I call on everybody in Israel to unite in memory of Rabin to create inner peace in Israel, this would be the Right move, and I'm sure the opposition would join in with him."

Wolfstfeld thinks that "what should be done is that we engage in as rational a discourse and argument as we can, and try as much as possible to create the kinds of institutions which encourage democratic dialogue. Perhaps most important is to fight an unwinding war against undemocratic forces in our society which seem to be growing in number and strength in recent years."

"If the democratic forces could join up against the undemocratic forces, I think that would be a very worthwhile case, but this is not happening. I think both sides are looking for their own advantage, and are therefore unable to get together. The danger, in fact, is that the hate between the two sides has reached a level where it could become a danger to Israeli democracy."

Avnery would like to see the change in discourse start in the Knesset, which he says is "worse than the soul."

Surprisingly he suggests taking a page out of the late prime minister Menachem Begin's book. "Begin was very strict about this. If anyone ever spoke about political 'enemies,' Begin would make him change it to 'rivals' or 'opponents.'"

"Let us agree on a code of behavior — all of us — saying that everyone believes that the other is an opponent, not an enemy. It's not a war, it's a debate."

## RAVIV

Continued from Page 2

"Therefore, I will demand a check into whether the government officials who were meant to supply all the information relating to Raviv's activities actually did supply it to the commission," Eitan said.

Eitan said the Raviv affair has significant implications on the rule of law. He claimed the law enforcement system "regarding this affair,

did not operate and is not operating as it should in a democratic country."

He said last year he had given the State Attorney's Office the sworn statement of a member of Raviv's group, saying Raviv had incited the murder of Rabin and organized anti-Arab acts, but the office had not yet acted on it.

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who saw the report, called it "shocking." He said the material relating to the use of Raviv as an agent provocateur has serious implications.

But Meretz leader Yossi Sarid,

who was privy to the report as a member of the ministerial committee on the GSS in the last government, said it contains "nothing at all that can redeem those political hooligans who incited against Yitzhak Rabin until he was murdered."

"It was not a GSS plant who planted the slanderous words which came out of the mouths of the leaders of the Right, and it was not he who wrote their speeches and responses. It is the leaders of the Right who are responsible for what happened before the murder," said Sarid.

## When it rains, let the money pour in!

By JENNIFER BLACK

Every week when I sit down to write my report to you, readers and friends, I try to highlight some positive event that has happened the week before.

I was prepared to do the same this week, but on reflection I've decided to sound the alarm bells. And I'm not the little boy in the village crying "Wolf! Wolf!"

The wolf is at our door! Winter started with heavy rain — which we all pray for — strong winds and plummeting temperatures. The winter always brings increased demands on our slender resources. Appeals from social workers and municipalities pour in asking for help for senior citizens alone in flats with leaky roofs and no money to buy heaters, blankets or warm clothing.

At the same time, financially embarrassed parents find that their children's shoes have holes in them and turn to us for help. For those who have four or five kids, the cost can set them back a week's wages.

So at the same time as we pray for a really hefty downpour this winter, let us match our prayers with a healthy contribution to assist those for whom the winter is a financial and emotional menace. This Hanukkah, our Toy Fund will be 50 years old. That's another good reason to send a special donation. As one of my co-workers said to me, "No one ever got poor from giving charity."

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NIS 18 in memory of Dr. Joel Elkind, a dear and beloved member of our group — Mr. and Mrs. Herman Bergman, Mr. and Mrs. Friedman, Samuel Bradin, Gilbert members of Chavim Moshe, Spring Valley, NY.  
NIS 100 in memory of our parents Mary and Ben Cohen and Ida and Harry Schneeburg — Jerry and Arthur Schneeburg, Elkins park, PA.

\$89 in honor of aunt Rose's 87th birthday, ill 120 — Jackie and Jerry, Morton Grove, IL.

\$36 in memory of Mona and George (Joseph) Popkin — Marcia Sandler, Teaneck, NJ. Mr. and Mrs. Hanan Gavriel, Fair Lawn, NJ. In honor of Tsafir Stem's 25th birthday — Joseph Stem, Beverly Hills, CA.

\$25 in honor of Hannah Tromm's 85th birthday — Phyllis and Jerry Eyles, Chestnut Ridge, NY.

\$20 Sima Grossman, Brooklyn, NY.

\$18 in memory of our parents — Bertha and Morris Goldman, J'm. On the occasion of the yahrzeit of my father, Max Szoemshine O.B.M.

\$10 Debra Childress, Yadkinville, NC.

Can\$50 Samuel and Estelka Reisz, Etobicoke, Canada.

Can\$18 in memory of my parents, Daniel and Esther Aizer — Gordon Aizer, Cape St. Luc, Canada.

Can\$500 In loving memory of my parents, Eugene and Esther Kaufman, whom I miss very much — Helen Kaufman, Les Lilas, France.

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\$100 in memory of our parents Mary and Ben Cohen and Ida and Harry Schneeburg — Jerry and Arthur Schneeburg, Elkins park, PA.

\$50 Ruth Brandt, Beverly Hills, CA. In gratitude to Hashem for the birth in Jerusalem of Natanel Shimon Zalat of Efrat (Tishbi 11, 5758) — his parents and grandparents.

\$40 Luis and Blanche Carr, Houston, TX.

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WINDOWS NT MCSB Regular Track (8 courses)	Tue. & Thur. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Jan. 8, Mon. & Wed. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.
"A++" PC SUPPORT ENGINEER (incl. QNA)	Sun. 5 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 16, Wed. 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.
MULTIMEDIA DEVELOPMENT	Wed. 9 a.m. - 12 noon	Nov. 12, Sun. 2 p.m. - 5 p.m.
VISUAL C++	Mon. 3 p.m. - 6 p.m.	Nov. 17, Sun. 12 noon - 3 p.m.
VISUAL BASIC	Mon. 12 noon - 3 p.m.	Nov. 10, Wed. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.
C/C++ PROGRAMMING	Mon. 6 p.m. - 9 p.m.	Nov. 17, Mon. 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.
COREL DRAW	Mon. 9 a.m. - 12 noon	Nov. 24, Wed. 3 p.m. - 6 p.m.

**USER'S COURSES**

Courses	Intro to PC	Excel I	Excel II	Word I	Word II	Internet Express	Access for Users
Tel Aviv	Thur., Nov. 13 1-5 p.m.	Tue., Nov. 11 1-5 p.m.	Sun., Nov. 9 1-5 p.m.	Wed., Nov. 12 1-5 p.m.	Mon., Nov. 10 1-5 p.m.	Fri., Nov. 14 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Wed., Nov. 12 5-9 p.m.
Jerusalem	Tue., Nov. 11 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Thur., Nov. 13 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Tue., Nov. 11 1-5 p.m.	Thu., Nov. 11 5-9 p.m.	Tue., Nov. 11 1-5 p.m.	Fri., Nov. 14 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Sun., Nov. 16 5-9 p.m.

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## Wright, Cole with points to prove

LONDON (Reuters) - When league leaders Manchester United visit second-placed Arsenal on Sunday, two of England's most exciting strikers will be on show - and both have something to prove. Ian Wright and Andy Cole are scoring goals like they are going out of fashion and - despite both teams boasting tight, well-organized defenses - there are sure to be more at Highbury.

Just two months ago, Wright re-wrote the Arsenal record books when he passed Cliff Bastin's club goal-scoring record of 178 set in the 1930s. That helped him back into the England team and he shared in the glory of Rome when a goalless draw earned World Cup qualification.

Cole, after a slow start to his Manchester United career, is finding the form that persuaded Alex Ferguson to splash out £5 million for him and on Wednesday rattled in his second hat-trick in 10 days as United thrumped Feyenoord 3-1 in Rotterdam in the European Champions League.

However, both men still seem to feel they have something to prove. Wright plays as if each match might be his last, with a passion and intensity that has become his trademark.

But that passion has all too frequently boiled over and landed him in trouble.

He is at pains, though, to prove he is not a dirty player, although he has been in trouble throughout his career for physical and verbal abuse of officials and opponents.

In July he was handed one of English soccer's largest fines for misconduct - more than £16,000 - after two much-publicized incidents last season and was warned he would be thrown out of the

game for a long time if he got in trouble again. Wright had better keep a firm grip on his toys on Sunday when he comes up against United's goalkeeper Peter Schmeichel.

There is bad blood between the striker and the great Dane dating back to last November when police investigated claims that Schmeichel had racially abused the black striker.

The feud took a fresh twist in February when Wright made a two-footed challenge on Schmeichel which left the United goalkeeper writhing in agony on the edge of his penalty area.

Wright claimed the Dane was play-acting and as the players left the pitch at the end of the match he had to be restrained by stewards as he tried to confront Schmeichel. Police intervened to keep the two players apart.

But while Wright is out to prove he is no thug, Cole wants to prove he is not an expensive flop.

With 44 goals in 102 matches for United, Cole's goal-scoring record is better than most, but he is still a victim of his early phenomenal success.

In his first Premier League sea-

son with Newcastle the 26-year-old, who was rejected by Arsenal after just two league appearances, scored an astonishing 41 goals.

It was that sort of form that sealed the move to United in 1995 but since then, life has been up and down for Cole.

He made his England debut that year but was blamed for several missed chances in the last game of the season which United could only draw and which cost them the title.

He was left out of the Euro 96 squad and missed the start of the 1996/97 season with pneumonia before fracturing his shin in a challenge with Neil Ruddock in a reserve match against Liverpool.

Many thought he would never regain the form he showed at Newcastle but eight goals in the last three matches for United are forcing his critics to eat their words.

Seven games are on tap tomorrow in the Premier League: Blackburn vs. Everton; Coventry vs. Newcastle; Crystal Palace vs. Aston Villa; Leeds vs. Derby; Liverpool vs. Tottenham; Sheffield Wednesday vs. Bolton; Southampton vs. Barnsley.

On Sunday, Chelsea face West Ham.

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הכרזה מן הארץ



# Brewers switch to National League

NEW YORK (AP) — The Milwaukee Brewers became the first major league baseball team to switch leagues this century, moving from the American League to the National League when baseball's ruling executive council approved the shift.

The Brewers, who had been in the AL Central, will play in a six-team NL Central starting next season. It leaves the NL with 16 teams and the AL with 14.

"I think it's a wonderful thing for baseball," said home-run king Hank Aaron, who started his career with the Milwaukee Braves in 1954 and ended it with the Brewers in 1976.

While Kansas City was given first choice to switch, the Royals preferred to stay in the AL.

Milwaukee, the team owned by acting commissioner Bud Selig, had said it would move to the NL in the event Kansas City declined.

While Milwaukee has been an American League town since the Seattle Pilots moved there prior to the 1970 season and became the Brewers, it was an NL city from 1953 to 1965. The Braves moved there from Boston, then moved to Atlanta.

Milwaukee had an AL franchise in 1901, but it moved to St. Louis the following year and became the Browns.

The franchise became the Baltimore Orioles in 1954.

"Milwaukee's first identification was with the National League," said Aaron, who played with the Braves for 21 seasons before joining the Brewers.

"Nothing against the AL. They won a championship there (1982). But we won a World Series (1957)."

with the Brewers in 1976.

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As part of the realignment, the expansion Tampa Bay Devil Rays will join the AL East and the Detroit Tigers will shift to the AL Central. The NL Central will become baseball's largest division.

"You got five other teams to contend with, as opposed to four or three," Houston Astros president Tai Smith said. "But I don't think it's that big a deal."

## Maccabi loses to lowly Limoges

### Bologna rout Hapoel Jerusalem

By BRIAN FREEMAN

Maccabi Tel Aviv fell to a new low last night, losing to last-place Limoges 78-77 and severely damaging its hopes of mounting a successful EuroLeague campaign.

Maccabi lost its eighth consecutive road game and fourth straight overall to fall to 2-4 in Group A.

Limoges, which entered the game averaging only 64.4 points a contest, registered its highest point total of the season against a porous Maccabi defense.

In Group C last night, Hapoel Jerusalem lost on the road to Kinder Bologna 73-51. Chris Smith, who has been so disappointing to the French team that he is about to be replaced, suddenly gave a superstar performance, knocking in all six of his three-point attempts en route to 24 points on the night.

The most disappointing aspect for Maccabi was that the team appeared so lackluster for a game which was clearly a golden opportunity for the Israelis to return to winning ways and get right back in the hunt for one of the top three spots in the league's second stage.

In the first contest against Limoges in the EuroLeague opener at Yad Eliahu, Maccabi easily defeated the Frenchmen 78-62 by dominating the inside and playing a suffocating defense.

But last night, Maccabi was barely able to enter the paint, as Limoges' big men, particularly 2.18-meter Frederic Weis, closed off any attempts to establish an inside game and Maccabi could not find any type of offensive rhythm.

Despite numerous turnovers and careless play, Maccabi stayed in the hunt in the first half, thanks mainly to the shooting of Oded Katash. He scored 19 of Tel Aviv's 34 points to send the Israelis into the locker room down by only six.

Maccabi came out for the second period looking as if it was

going to put its poor first-half performance behind it.

Randy White, who was scoreless in the first half and picked up his fourth foul 90 seconds into the second period, scored eight points within the first three minutes to put Maccabi briefly ahead 44-43.

Limoges then took advantage of Tel Aviv miscues to go on a 15-0 run and seemingly put the game out of reach. Limoges held a double-digit lead as late as 7:25 left in the contest, when White again ignited a Maccabi rally by nailing his fourth three-pointer of the half.

Aided by the presence of Weis on the bench with his fourth foul, Maccabi played a few sparkling minutes in which it went on a 14-1 run and actually retook the lead at 73-72 with only 4:20 remaining.

But Tel Aviv was unable to keep up the intensity and Limoges went back out in front 78-75 with two minutes remaining.

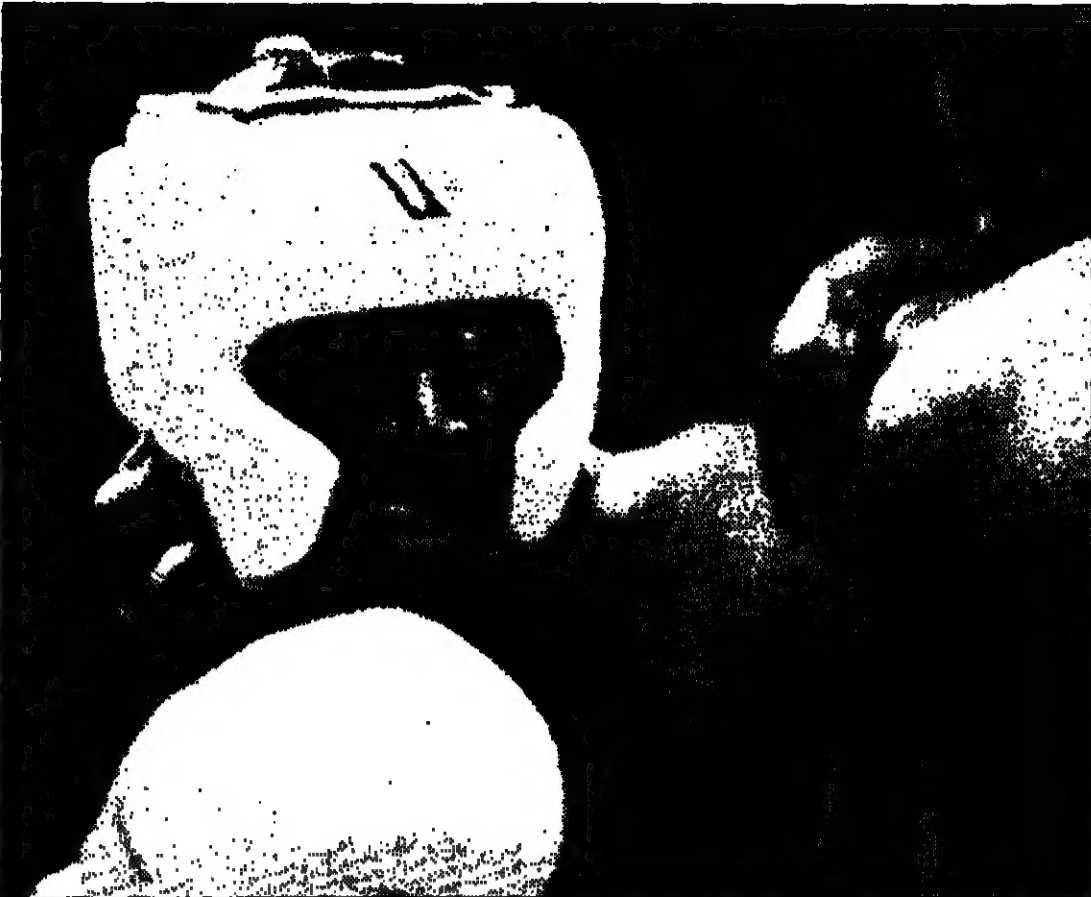
Those last two minutes symbolized all lost opportunities of this season for Maccabi, which managed to close the gap to 78-77 on two more free-throws from Katash.

Limoges committed two turnovers and missed two shots in its last four minutes down the court, but the Israelis responded in kind by turning the ball over yet again and missing two shots, including a three-point attempt by Katash with seconds remaining which would have won the game.

For Maccabi, Katash lead all scorers with 27 points, White had 17 (all in the second half), Rashard Griffith 14, Doron Sheffer 13, and Derrick Sharp and Brad Leaf 3 each.

Limoges was paced by Chris Smith with 24 points, while Hughes Occaney had 16, Willie Redden 10, Weis 8, Grant Gondrezick 7, Nenad Marcovic 6 and Maurice Smith 4.

In the Hapoel Jerusalem match, Predrag Danilovic led Bologna with 19 points while Moti Daniel paced Hapoel with 16.



WARMING UP - WBA champion Evander Holyfield gets set for his fight tomorrow against IBF top gun Michael Moorer in Las Vegas.

## Holyfield-Moorer title fight lacks pzazz

LAS VEGAS (AP) — There's something missing as Evander Holyfield prepares for his first fight since his two showdown bouts with Mike Tyson. And it's not just part of his ear.

Forget, for a moment, that tomorrow night's fight with Michael Moorer will unify two parts of the heavyweight title.

Forget that Holyfield is seeking revenge against one of the two fighters ever to beat him.

Holyfield and Moorer simply have a tough act to follow in the wake of two of the biggest heavyweight title fights of all time.

"It makes this fight seem dead a little," Holyfield said.

With the volatile and fearsome Tyson replaced with the introspective and cautious Moorer, it has been left mainly up to Holyfield to carry the promotion for the fight that will unify the WBA and IBF heavyweight titles.

Though he's being paid well to do so — \$20 million for the scheduled 12-round fight — even Holyfield has seemed to have trouble trying to raise tomorrow's fight to the level of his two fights with Tyson.

At Wednesday's final prefight press conference, Holyfield left it up to his attorney, Jim Thomas, to try and add some excitement to the fight.

"This is the kind of fight all of you say we need in boxing," Thomas said. "For once, all the action will be inside the ring."

Showtime executive Jay Larkin, whose company is televising the fight via pay-per-view, took to berating

the assembled media for not taking the fight as seriously as Holyfield's fights with Tyson.

"What we don't have is a car crash and because we don't have a car crash, reporters come up to me and ask what's wrong with this fight," Larkin said.

The stakes are still big for both Holyfield and Moorer, but the absence of Tyson and his entourage has quieted the buzz that normally is associated with a big heavyweight fight.

Holyfield even had a religious rally scheduled for last night, where thousands are expected at a minor league baseball stadium to hear a night of preaching and singing.

"The difference in this fight is there won't be the tension on fight night that there was before," said Marc Ramer, executive director of the Nevada State Athletic Commission. "It will be a different atmosphere."

About the only tension present at the press conference was when Moorer's manager, John Davimos, changed Holyfield's grin to a scowl when he complained about Holyfield making excuses for his April 22, 1994, loss to Moorer that cost him the WBA and IBF titles.

Holyfield blamed a bad left shoulder for his performance in losing a 12-round majority decision, and two days later was hospitalized for what was then diagnosed as a heart problem.

"Evander's a great fighter, but he's the worst loser I've ever seen in my life," Davimos said. "He's gone from cardiac arrest in the ring and heart problems to shoulder problems to being poisoned in the corner."

## O's Johnson quits, voted top AL manager

BALTIMORE (AP) — Davey Johnson ended his feud with Baltimore Orioles owner Peter Angelos by quitting Wednesday just hours before he was voted American League Manager of the Year.

Johnson, who led the Orioles to an AL-best 98-64 record, had been fighting with Angelos since the team was eliminated by Cleveland in the AL championship series.

Johnson, who had finished second three times in voting for NL manager of the year but never won, received 10 first-place votes, twice as many as anyone else. He received 88 points, 38 more than the second-place finisher, Buddy Bell of the Detroit Tigers.

Two days after the World Series, Johnson's agent sent Angelos a letter requesting a contract extension or a buyout of the final year. A day later, word leaked that Johnson ordered Roberto Alomar to pay \$10,500 in fines to a charity that retains Johnson's wife as a fund-raiser.

Angelos said Johnson failed "to recognize the real issue posed by your imposition and handling of the Alomar fine and your divisive statement to the press in July that unless the Orioles got to the World Series, you would not be permitted to return for the final year of your contract. Such a statement, during a pennant drive, was ill-advised and a harmful distraction. Your own actions and conduct — not mine — have produced the fulfillment of your prophecy."

Johnson had one season remaining on a \$2.25 million, three-year contract and offered to forgo his \$750,000 salary next year if Angelos permitted him to immediately negotiate with other teams.

Toronto general manager Gord Ash said Wednesday he intends to interview Johnson. The expansion Tampa Bay Devil Rays also may be interested.

"I must say that your indifference to the work I have performed over the last two years in guiding the Orioles to the playoffs and in delivering a wire-to-wire division

championship is discouraging, to say the least," Johnson wrote Angelos on Wednesday morning.

Johnson is a proven winner — his teams have finished either first or second in all 10 full seasons he has managed and his .576 winning percentage (799-589) was the best among active managers.

Johnson got his first managerial job in the majors with the Mets in 1984. He led the team to the 1986 World Series title and became the winningest manager in franchise history (595-417). He also directed the Cincinnati Reds to first-place finishes in 1994 and 1995 before being ousted by owner Marge Schott.

Griffey tops among peers

Ken Griffey Jr. was picked as baseball's player of the year by fellow major leaguers in the 1997 Players Choice Awards.

The awards were organized by the players' union. Players voted for the honors throughout September.

Griffey hit 56 home runs with 147 RBIs for the Seattle Mariners. The center fielder also won a Gold Glove this season.

"Being recognized by my fellow players, both teammates and rivals, means so much to me because it comes from the guys who play the game and know it best," Griffey said at the awards presentation Wednesday night in Orlando.

Mark McGwire, who led the majors with 58 home runs while with Oakland and St. Louis, was chosen as man of the year. Late in the season, when he signed a new contract with the Cardinals, he announced he had formed a charitable foundation and planned to donate \$1 million to benefit the people of St. Louis.

In other awards, Griffey and Colorado outfielder Larry Walker were chosen as the outstanding players in their leagues, Toronto's Roger Clemens and Montreal's Pedro Martinez were selected as the outstanding pitchers, and Boston's Nomar Garciaparra and Philadelphia's Scott Rolen were picked as the outstanding rookies.

## S. Africa beat Sri Lanka

LAHORE (Reuters) — South Africa beat Sri Lanka by 66 runs in the last league match of the Pakistan Golden Jubilee quadrangular trophy one-day cricket tournament yesterday. The final, with the same teams, is scheduled for tomorrow. Scores: South Africa 311-9 in 50 overs, Sri Lanka 245-9 in 50 overs.

## Mashburn sparks Heat past Celtics; Pacers edge Pistons

BOSTON (AP) — Jamal Mashburn scored 32 points, including 10 in a row in the fourth quarter, as the Miami Heat beat the Boston Celtics 90-74 Wednesday night.

Tim Hardaway had 14 points and 10 assists for Miami. Antoine Walker had 20 points and 13 rebounds to lead Boston, but was only 8-of-24 from the field.

Mashburn, who like Walker played for Boston coach Rick Pitino at Kentucky, had nine rebounds and his highest point total of the season against his former coach.

The Celtics have lost three consecutive games since their upset of the defending NBA champion Chicago Bulls on opening night. The past two losses have been by a combined 48 points.

Hawks 93, 76ers 88

Dikembe Mutombo had 20 points, 16 rebounds and eight blocks as visiting Atlanta remained undefeated in the first regular-season game for female official Dee Kantner.

Steve Smith had 22 points and Christian Laettner 20 as the Hawks improved to 4-0, their best start since 1986.

Allen Iverson had 21 points and 11 assists, while Clarence Weatherspoon had 19 points and 14 rebounds for the 76ers, who are winless in three games.

Kantner became the second woman to work a regular-season NBA game. Violet Palmer was the first last Friday.

Hornets 110, Mavericks 103

Glen Rice scored 28 points and Dell Curry 23 as host Charlotte spoiled the Mavericks' bid for their best start ever.

Khalid Reeves scored 24 and

Michael Finley had 20 for Dallas, which was trying to match the 1995-96 Mavericks by winning the first four games.

Pacers 99, Pistons 87

Rik Smits scored 12 of his 25 points in the fourth quarter to lead Indiana to a road win.

Grant Hill had 29 points, eight assists and eight rebounds for the Pistons.

Chris Mullin scored 18 points for Indiana, and Reggie Miller added 14.

Nets 112, Warriors 96

Host New Jersey improved to 3-0 for the first time in franchise history by beating Golden State behind a balanced scoring attack.

The Warriors fell to 0-4 under new coach P.J. Carlesimo, matching the team's worst start ever.

Chris Gatling had 21 points and Sam Cassell added 19 for the Nets, who won only 26 games last year in John Calipari's first season as coach.

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
New Jersey	3	0	1.000	—
Miami	3	1	.750	½
New York	2	1	.667	1
Washington	2	2	.500	½
Boston	1	3	.250	2½
Charlotte	1	3	.250	2½
Philadelphia	0	3	.000	3

Central Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	4	0	1.000	—
Chicago	3	1	.750	½
Indiana	2	1	.667	1
Milwaukee	2	2	.500	½
Orlando	2	2	.500	½
Detroit	2	2	.500	½
Indianapolis	2	2	.500	½
Cleveland	1	2	.333	2½
Toronto	1	2	.333	2½

Donyell Marshall scored 21 points for the Warriors. Latrell Sprewell had his second straight sub-par game, scoring only four points on 2-of-11 shooting.

Sprewell scored only 12 the previous night after averaging 35 in his first two games.

Bulls 94, Magic 81

Michael Jordan had 29 points and 17 rebounds as host Chicago continued its mastery of Orlando.

Including a sweep in the 1996 Eastern Conference finals, Chicago has beaten Orlando 11 consecutive times by an average score of 104-88.

The two-time defending NBA champion Bulls, without injured Scottie Pippen for about two more months, are 3-0 since being stunned at Boston in the season opener.

Rony Seikaly had 34 points and Penny Hardaway 20 for the Magic (1-3), who are off to their worst start since 1992-93.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Midwest Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
Dallas	3	1	.750	—
Houston	3	1	.750	—
San Antonio	3	1	.750	—
Minnesota	2	1	.667	½
Utah	1	3	.250	2
Vancouver	1	3	.250	2
Denver	0	3	.000	3

Pacific Division	W	L	Pct.	GB
LA Lakers	2	0	1.000	—
Phoenix	2	0	1.000	—
Portland	2	1	.667	½
Seattle	2	1	.667	½
LA Clippers	0	3	.000	3
Sacramento	0	3	.000	3
Golden State	0	4	.000	4

Wednesday's results: Miami 90, Boston 74; Indiana 99, Detroit 87; New Jersey 112, Golden State 96; Atlanta 93, Philadelphia 88; Charlotte 110, Dallas 103; Chicago 94, Orlando 81; San Antonio 87, Vancouver 79; Houston 94, LA Clippers 118.

## Rusedski fights illness to gain quarters

STOCKHOLM (AP) — Greg Rusedski beat Lionel Roux of France 6-4, 7-6 (7-5) yesterday to reach the quarter-finals at the Stockholm Open after spending two days in bed with a stomach virus.

Early on, it didn't look like Rusedski had been resting and not practicing since Monday. The Canadian-born Briton fired eight straight aces in his first two service games.

As usual, Rusedski's serve was his main weapon. He finished with 20 aces and lost only seven points on serve.

"I was pleased with my serve — it made the difference today," he said.

"I can't complain. I felt terrible for the past two days, but I just stayed in bed and slept."

"I wasn't taking any medicine, but the trainer gave me some pills with aspirin, vitamin C and caffeine this morning. They worked well."

Rusedski, who says he's never fared more than four or five straight aces in competition before, went straight back to his hotel after the match to rest some more.

He will face either two-time defending champion Thomas Enqvist or Magnus Larsson, who were scheduled for an all-Swedish second-round late match last night.

It was the most awesome display of serving at the Royal Tennis Hall since Steve Denton of the US hit 16 consecutive aces in a doubles match in 1982.

Jonas Bjorkman also advanced to the quarter-finals, beating fellow Swede Thomas Johansson 6-4, 7-5.

Bjorkman climbed to fourth in the ATP rankings after losing the Paris Open final Sunday to world No. 1 Pete Sampras.

Hapoel Tel Aviv can take a major step towards eliminating one of their main rivals from the National League title chase, at least for the short term, if they can beat Betar Jerusalem tomorrow.

Hapoel, leading the league outright, have been buoyed by their Tel Aviv derby victory over Maccabi last weekend and now know that their early-round successes were no fluke.

Betar are in difficulty, missing Eli Ohana, Stefan Saloi and Tomer Azulai through injury. The Jerusalemites were expected to make a confident defense of their league crown, but so far their form has been unconvincing, despite notching up impressive results against some of the league's weaker teams of late. Should Betar win, the league race would be thrown wide open, with five points separating the top six clubs.

Maccabi Haifa, in second, also have a chance to show their mettle in an away game at Ironi Ashdod. They could take over the league

lead if Hapoel lose.

This weekend's National League fixtures (all matches tomorrow at 14:30 unless stated): Hapoel Kfar Sava vs. Hapoel Beit She'an, today 14:00; Maccabi Petah Tikva vs. Bnei Yehuda; Ironi Ashdod vs. Maccabi Haifa; Maccabi Tel Aviv vs. Hapoel Jerusalem, National Stadium; Betar Jerusalem vs. Hapoel Tel Aviv, Teddy Stadium 17:45; Hapoel Haifa vs. Maccabi Herzliya, Kiryat Eliezer 15:00; Ironi Kishon vs. Hapoel Ashkelon; Hapoel Beersheba vs. Hapoel Petah Tikva.

NATIONAL SOCCER LEAGUE

	P	W	D	L	GF	GA	Diff.	Pts
Hapoel Tel Aviv	9	6	3	0	9	2	7	21
Maccabi Haifa	9	5	3	1	18	9	9	18
Hapoel Haifa	9	5	3	1	15	8	7	18
Betar Jerusalem	9	4	5	0	15	12	3	17
Hapoel Jerusalem	9	4	4	1	13	10	3	16
Hapoel Petah Tikva	9	4	2	3	16	13	3	16
Ironi Ashdod	9	3	4	2	12	13	-1	13
Hapoel Kfar Sava	9	4	0	5	15	12	-2	12
Ironi Kishon	9	2	4	3	14	14	-2	10
Hapoel Beersheba	9	2	4	3	11	13	-2	10
Bnei Yehuda	9	2	3	4	12	19	-7	9
Hapoel Ashkelon	9	2	2	5	11	19	-8	8
Hapoel Beit She'an	9	2	1	6	15	17	-2	7
Maccabi Tel Aviv	9	1	3	5	14	14	-4	6
Hapoel Tel Aviv	9	1	3	5	10	14	-4	6
Hapoel Beersheba	9	1	3	5	12	19	-7	6

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NATIONAL SOCCER LEAGUE

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Hapoel, leading the league outright, have been buoyed by their



# Thousands expected at Rabin memorial

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Hundreds of thousands are expected to attend the main memorial event for prime minister Yitzhak Rabin tomorrow night at Kikar Rabin in Tel Aviv.

Rabin's last speech, given at a peace rally minutes before he was shot down on November 4, 1995, will open the rally at 8 p.m.

The rally, organized by the Shalom Haver association, will be hosted by Alex Ansky, after an opening statement by Dudu Topaz. Labor Party leaders Ehud Barak and Shimon Peres, Leah Rabin, Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo, Meretz leader Yossi Sarid, and others will speak. The Rabin family and Shalom Haver requested people to refrain from holding up political slogans, so

as not to give the rally a partisan cast. The artists performing at the rally include Gidi Gov, Shalom Hanoch, Mati Caspi, Alon Olschik, Ronit Shahar, and Si Himan.

Some 1,300 policemen and mounted troops will safeguard the event. Parking on the streets close to the square will be banned from 10 a.m. on Saturday until the end of the rally, and cars parked there illegally

will be towed away.

At 5 p.m., all the streets around the square will be closed to traffic and the police recommends anyone not coming to the rally use alternative routes.

The police have asked the public not to bring personal weapons to the rally, to keep alert for suspicious persons or objects, and to use public transportation.

## MDA prepares for huge rally

By JUDY SIEGEL

Magen David Adom is preparing for tomorrow night's rally in memory of Yitzhak Rabin, at Rabin Square in Tel Aviv. Two mobile intensive care units, six ambulances and other equipment staffed by dozens of paramedics and volunteers will be on standby. MDA stations in the Ayalon, Yarkon and Sharon area will be on alert. The public is requested not to interfere with ambulance movement.

# Freed from jail, Shuki Besso says he's still in 'mental prison'

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Twenty-four-year-old Shuki Besso, convicted of pumping 29 bullets from his IDF-issue rifle into his father as he slept in a drunken stupor four years ago, was released from Ma'asiyahu Prison in Ramle yesterday morning.

Accompanied by Prison Service officials Besso was greeted by his uncle Shalom Hadad and MK Anat Maor (Meretz).

As he walked towards his uncle, Besso told reporters that although he had been physically released from prison he still had to deal with 'mental' imprisonment.

"I still haven't finished paying my debt to society," he said, adding that "when a person carries out good or bad deeds he either builds or destroys."

He said he would spend the rest of his life repairing the damage he has done.

Besso had been sentenced to ten years on a manslaughter conviction for the fatal shooting in October 1993. President Ezer Weizman later ordered the term cut to six years, and the Prison Authority knocked off a third of the remaining period for good behavior.

At the time of this trial, Besso, a former IDF paratrooper from Kfar Saba, was said to have shot



Shuki Besso leaves Ma'asiyahu Prison yesterday (Courtesy 'Ma'ariv')

his father Rafi, believing that than man would have murdered his mother, Mazal, who he abused for years, as he did Besso's brothers.

During the trial in Tel Aviv Magistrates Court, Mazal told the court that her husband was insanely jealous and would only allow her to work as a cleaning woman. She said that he would beat and rape her in front of their three children.

Besso's younger brother Roi'i also told of being victimized by

his father's violence.

In an interview on Channel 1, Besso's lawyer Sassy Gez said that Besso had given up his freedom to save his mother from what he felt was certain death.

Despite being out of jail, Gez said, Besso "will carry his punishment with him for the rest of his life."

## WEATHER

Heb 17-25

Tel Aviv 17-25

Jerusalem 15-22

Beersheva 15-22

Eilat 19-29

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear, Rise in temperatures. Shabbat: No change in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

LOW F HIGH F

Amsterdam 10 50 14 57

Berlin 07 45 11 52

Cairo 17 63 23 77

Chicago 06 45 08 46

Copenhagen 04 38 06 41

Frankfurt 07 45 08 46

Geneva 02 32 05 48

Hong Kong 19 68 23 73

London 11 57 20 57

Los Angeles 18 61 26 79

Moscow 12 10 -04 26

New York 12 45 14 57

Paris 17 53 21 70

Rome 12 52 18 66

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# Environmentalists' party to protest highway

By LIAT COLLINS

A festive mass protest against the Trans-Israel Highway is planned this afternoon by the Tel Aviv seashore.

Organized by Green Action, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel and the Green

Trend, the free event is scheduled to include entertainers such as Barry Sakharov and Uri Banai, dancers and a performance by a 50-member African drum group. There will also be shows related to environmental issues.

The event, which starts at 1

p.m. "is planned to as a public awareness happening to make people more aware of the serious environmental problems in Israel," Green Action's Elad Shai said.

He said the rally would also call for development of the nation's railroad system.

## The Campaign for האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

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# Building the Future of Israel, Jerusalem and the Jewish People

## Special Meeting of the Board of Governors to Launch the \$600 Million Campaign for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

### Program Highlights

#### Saturday, November 8

Gala evening launching the Campaign, International Conference Center, Jerusalem

#### Sunday, November 9

Field trips to meet with University researchers on Mount Scopus

The Yitzhak Rabin Memorial Scholarship Awards

Guest Speaker: MK Shimon Peres

Plenary session, Board of Governors - Mount Scopus

#### Monday, November 10

Plenary session, Board of Governors - Givat Ram

Field trips to meet with University researchers on Givat Ram

Meeting with young faculty

Reception hosted by President Ezer Weizman at his residence

Special gathering of outstanding alumni and members of the Board of Governors

#### Tuesday, November 11

Trip to the Heinz Steinitz Interuniversity Institute for Marine Biological Research in Eilat

## The Hebrew University welcomes the following Governors and guests from abroad to the special meeting of the Board of Governors:

ARGENTINA: Mr. & Mrs. Manuel Sisecky.

AUSTRIA: Mrs. Ellen Landesmann.

BRAZIL: Mrs. & Mr. Alberto Picciotto.

CANADA: Ms. Neri Bloomfield, Mr. & Mrs. Dan Brody,

Mr. Jim Carr, Mr. & Mrs. Jack Frieberg, Mr. Charles Gold,

Mr. Abe Gray, Dr. Ralph Halbert, Dr. Feige Kaplan,

Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Lipper, Mr. & Mrs. Ead Lipson,

Ms. Anya Makow, Mr. & Mrs. Paul Shuckett,

Mr. & Mrs. Alwin Snipelisky.

FRANCE: Mr. Robert Assaraf, Mr. Lucien Kalon,

Ms. Stella Rozan, Rabbi René Samuel Sirat.

ITALY: Dr. Maria Modena.

SOUTH AFRICA: Mrs. Bernice Beare-Rosenberg, Mr. Hans Saenger.

UK: Dr. Kenneth Alberman, Mr. Ellis Birk, Ms. Hannah Douglas,

Mrs. Myrtle Franklin Ellenbogen, Mr. & Mrs. Michael Gee,

Mr. Allan Morgenthau, Mr. & Mrs. Norman Nathalin,

Dr. Leonard Polonsky, Mr. Geoffrey Simmonds, Mr. Anthony Spitz.

USA: Mr. Stanley Abrams, Mr. Harold Berry, Prof. Herbert Brown,

Mr. D. Walter Cohen, Prof. Lois Cohen, Mrs. Lonny Darwin,

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence Glick, Mr. Alex Grass, Dr. & Mrs. Joseph Jacobs,

Mr. & Mrs. Louis Kaitz, Mr. Harvey M. Krueger, Mr. Michael Kurtz,

Mrs. Barbara Mandel, Mr. Morton Mandel, Mr. James Mantanky,

Mr. & Mrs. Harvey Marshak, Ms. Ruth Popkin, Mr. & Mrs. Sam Rothberg,

Ms. Heidi Rothberg, Mr. Keith Sachs, Mr. Martin Sirota, Mr. Dan Wasson,

Mr. Richard Ziman, Ms. Jenna Ziman.



Prof. Menachem Magidor  
President of the University



Alex Grass  
Chairman, Board of Governors



Harvey M. Krueger  
International Co-Chairman of the Campaign for the Hebrew University



Barbara A. Mandel  
International Co-Chairman of the Campaign for the Hebrew University



Prof. Menachem Ben-Sasson  
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A donkey's view of the Negev

Gov't to

Israel-PA talks may recess today

BY LEE KATZ

WASHINGTON  
Palestinian negotiators  
to reach a deal  
with the Israelis  
today, according  
to a source close  
to the negotiations.  
The source said  
that the talks  
were going well  
and that a deal  
was likely to be  
reached by the  
end of the week.  
The source also  
said that the  
Palestinians were  
willing to make  
significant concessions  
in order to reach  
a deal. The source  
said that the  
Palestinians were  
willing to accept  
the 1948 borders  
with minor  
adjustments.  
The source also  
said that the  
Palestinians were  
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THE PALESTINIAN  
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German co  
BY LEE KATZ  
The German  
government is  
expected to reach  
a deal with the  
Israelis today, according  
to a source close to  
the negotiations. The  
source said that the  
talks were going well  
and that a deal was  
likely to be reached  
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مكتبة القدس